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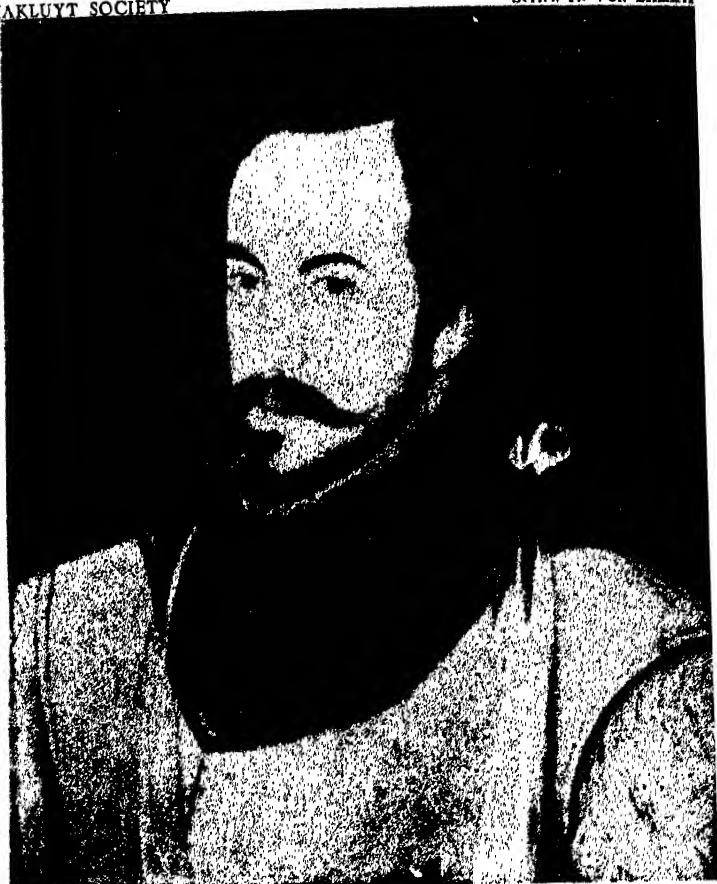
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SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

THE VOYAGES AND
COLONISING ENTERPRISES
OF
SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

With an Introduction and Notes

by

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VOLUME I

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PREFACE

THESE volumes represent an attempt to assemble all the documents that throw any light on the voyages and colonising enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Many of them have previously been printed, notably by Hakluyt and by Carlos Slafter in his *Sir Humphrey Gilberte and his enterprise of colonization in America*. A number are published for the first time. Wherever possible the original manuscripts have been used for the texts which have been printed. It is not, however, to be expected that all the extant materials have been discovered, and it is likely, in particular, that further agreements between Sir Humphrey Gilbert and adventurers with him in his colonising projects will be found in private collections. Enough has been found to illustrate clearly the preparatory and tentative character of his schemes. It would have been surprising if Gilbert's plans had succeeded, but it is interesting and important that they should have been made, and they form the first stage in a series of attempts that were necessary before English settlements could be firmly planted in America. A few documents on Ireland have been included as Ireland was the earliest field for English colonisation in the sixteenth century and profoundly influenced the attempts to establish colonies in America.

While recent workers, notably Dr. J. A. Williamson and Professor E. G. R. Taylor, have done much to elucidate the colonising movement in the sixteenth century, little detailed attention has been paid to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The pioneer biography by W. G. Gosling, published in 1911, remains the only study of any value and, though it contains a great deal of valuable material, it is out of date in certain respects. In the introduction I have attempted, besides making a brief analysis of the documents, to give an outline of his life, with some indication of the materials for a further study.

In making this collection I have received much assistance. I am particularly indebted to four people: to Alison Quinn for a great deal of labour on the documents and for assistance at almost every point in my study; to Miss Norah H. Evans, Assistant Librarian at Birkbeck College, for the careful preparation of my book-lists and for help in many other ways; to Mr. J. R. Carey, Lecturer in Spanish at King's College, London, for translations; and to Mr. Edward Lynam for consistently valuable advice. Amongst those to whom I owe grateful thanks for advice, criticism, information, translations and transcripts are Dr. A. P. Newton, Dr. R. C. Anderson, Professor E. G. R. Taylor, Mr. Seymour de Ricci, Mr. J. W. Blake, Sir Wasey Sterry, Professor R. B. Merriman, Miss M. K. Dale, Mr. H. Beharrell, Miss A. M. C. Latham, Mrs. E. Hurstfield, Miss G. H. Hamilton and the late Mr. Hugh R. Watkin of Bovey Tracey. Acknowledgements are due to Commander Walter Raleigh Gilbert of Compton Castle, near Paignton; to the Marquess of Salisbury and Mr. J. V. Lyle for transcripts and permission to print documents from the Cecil MSS. at Hatfield House; to Sir Frederick and Lady Anstruther-Gough-Calthorpe of Elvetham Hall, Hartley Wintney, Hampshire, for giving me access to the Calthorpe MSS.; to Mr. George Brudenell of Deene Park, Peterborough, and Miss Joan Wake for transcripts of documents from the Brudenell MSS., which will shortly be published by Miss Wake; and to Mr. Arthur Snow, clerk of the Incorporation of Weavers, Tuckers and Shearmen of Exeter, for allowing me to examine the records of the Merchant Adventurers of Exeter. I have also received courteous assistance from the librarians, town clerks and archivists of the British Museum, Bodleian Library, Bristol, Dartmouth, Exeter, Lambeth Palace, the National Maritime Museum, the Public Record Office, and Totnes. My thanks are due, finally, to the Royal Geographical Society and to the National Portrait Gallery for facilities to reproduce the *Frontispiece* to vol. I and the map facing p. 374, respectively.

DAVID B. QUINN

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

SOUTHAMPTON, August 1939

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(From a portrait in the possession of Commander Walter Raleigh
Gilbert, Compton Castle, Paignton.)

A General Map, made onely for the particular de-
claration of this discovery *facing p. 164*

(From *A discourse . . . by Sir Humfrey Gilbert, 1576.*)

LISTS OF AUTHORITIES

THE lists of original sources have been made as complete as possible, but only a selection of the more useful secondary authorities, particularly those which contain references to documents relating to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, has been included. The place of publication of printed books is London, unless otherwise stated.

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I. ORIGINAL SOURCES

A. MANUSCRIPTS

1. Public Record Office.
2. Somerset House.
3. British Museum.
4. Bodleian Library.
5. Archiepiscopal Library, Lambeth.
6. College of Arms, London.
7. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.
8. Library of Hatfield House.
9. Municipal Records of Southampton.
10. Municipal Records of Plymouth.
11. Records of the Incorporation of Weavers, Tuckers and Shearmen, Exeter.
12. Calthorpe MSS.
13. Brudenell MSS.

B. PRINTED MATERIAL

1. English record publications.
2. Other documentary collections.
3. Histories, tracts, etc., written before 1640.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

Where the reference gives the Public Record Office number alone, the class to which the document belongs may be found by reference to pp. xviii-xix.

APC. *Acts of the Privy Council.*

BM. British Museum.

Cal. Carew. *Calendar of Carew papers.*

CSP Col. *Calendar of state papers, colonial.*

CSP Dom. *Calendar of state papers, domestic.*

CSP For. *Calendar of state papers, foreign.*

CSP Ir. *Calendar of state papers relating to Ireland.*

CSP Sp. *Calendar of letters and state papers relating to English affairs, preserved principally in the archives of Simancas.*

Gosling. *Gosling, Life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.*

Halliwell. *The private diary of Dr. John Dee.* Ed. by J. O. Halliwell-Phillips].

HMC. Historical Manuscripts Commission.

PRO. Public Record Office.

Slafter. *Slafter, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his enterprise of colonization in America.*

INTRODUCTION

The one Hand holdeth a General's Truncheon, and the other is laid on the Globe of the World, Virginia is written over ; on his Breast hangs the Golden Anchor, with the Pearl at Peak ; and underneath are these Verses : which tho' none of the best, may here supply the Place of an Epitaph.

Here may you see the Portrait of his Face,
Who for his Country's Honor oft did trace
Along the Deep ; and made a noble Way
Unto the growing Fame, Virginia
The picture of his Mind, if ye do crave it,
Look upon Virtue's Picture, and ye have it.

PRINCE, *Devon worthies*.¹

1. EARLY LIFE

HUMPHREY GILBERT was the second son of Otho (or Otes) Gilbert of Compton and Greenway, Devonshire, and Katherine Champernoun, daughter of Sir Philip Champernoun of Modbury, Kent. He was probably born at Greenway, 'in the Parish of Brixham, a pleasant and commodious Seat, of long continuance in his family; standing on the East-side of the Dart upon a rising Ground, a little mile above the Town of Dartmouth in this County. It hath a delightful Prospect of that River, and views the Boats & Barges as they pass & re-pass upon it; a large scope of Lands, and the Royalties of Fishing and Fowling are belonging to it'². Otho Gilbert was a land-owner of some importance, but his will, dated 16 May 1545³, does not refer to the main part of his properties, which were apparently entailed to his eldest son John. The will disposes of various properties to his wife⁴, his children Humphrey, Adrian, Otho and Katherine, and others. Humphrey was left the manor of Hanford, and lands in Reinge, Borington and

¹ Description of a portrait which does not appear to have survived.

² Prince, *Devon worthies* (1701), p. 326.

³ P.C.C. 38 Alen O.B.

⁴ Shortly after her husband's death she married Walter Raleigh of Fardel.

Offewell in Devonshire. Otho Gilbert died on 18 February 1547 and the inquisition *post mortem*, held on 13 October 1547, gave the age of his eldest son as eleven and three-quarter years and showed that he was born in January or February 1536¹. His will was proved on 16 June 1547 and by it Humphrey and Adrian were left, until the age of twenty-one, under the guardianship of Philip Penkevell, one of the executors of the will. Penkevell is described in the will as 'brother' of Otho Gilbert and in the inquisition as his brother and steward. He may have been a foster-brother or half-brother. In any case he was a man of some substance and, at his death in 1562, held considerable property, including the manor of Padstow². John Gilbert was a ward of the Crown and on 6 February 1552 Philip Penkevell obtained the custody of part of his lands in Devonshire during his minority³.

The only account of Humphrey Gilbert's youth is that given by John Hooker⁴. According to him Gilbert was a precocious child whose father left him some money for his education and whose mother sent him to Eton and thence to Oxford. Instead of going from there to the Inns of Court he attracted the attention of Katherine Ashley, an aunt, who had him brought into the service of the Princess Elizabeth, who took a particular liking to him. This account cannot be checked in any detail as there is no other record of his being at Eton⁵ or Oxford. In a letter of 11 July 1581 Gilbert stated that he had been in Elizabeth's service for over twenty-seven years⁶ and in another letter of 7 February 1583 he puts the period as twenty-eight years.⁷

¹ C 142/84, 36.

² C 142/134, 180.

³ *Cal. Pat. R. Ed. VI* 1550-3, p. 109.

⁴ Document no. 131, pp. 431-2. Hooker as chamberlain of Exeter had a good opportunity of getting information about Gilbert. He also knew him in Ireland.

⁵ Sir Wasey Sterry, who is compiling a register of Etonians, kindly informs me that while there is no proper record of Gilbert's schooling at Eton 'there is a fragment of a Hall account, which I date at about 1553, which contains a payment by the Provost in respect of his "famuli", one of whom is named Gilbert. The Provost at the time was Sir Thomas Smith. I doubt, however, whether he was anything but a servant, though of course at the time it was not unusual for boys of gentle birth to be taken into great men's households'.

⁶ Document no. 74, p. 241.

⁷ Document no. 102, p. 340.

This would place his entry into Elizabeth's household in 1554 or 1555. Katherine Ashley had been Elizabeth's governess and was deprived of her office and disgraced for Protestant sympathies in June 1556, so that Gilbert must have been established at Hatfield before that date, and it is possible that he too had to leave the princess's service for a time, as he is found living at one of the Inns of Chancery in May 1558.

The usually accepted date of Gilbert's birth is 1539, but this is not well attested¹, and it is much more probable that he was born in 1537. This would make him seventeen or eighteen when he entered Elizabeth's service and would leave time for him to have a year or two at Oxford after leaving Eton. Support for this assumption may be found in a document in the Admiralty records. It is a note of a licence granted to Gilbert's uncle, Sir Arthur Champernown, to fit out ships as privateers against the French, and 'Humfrey Gilbert of New Inne in London gent.' is named as one of the sureties². The date is 18 May 1558, and it is very improbable that Gilbert would have been accepted as a surety if he was still a minor, so that it would appear that he was born before 18 May 1537. If this reasoning is correct, and taking into account that his elder brother John was born in January or February 1536, Gilbert's birth may be placed between January and May 1537.

New Inn, where Gilbert was residing in 1558, was an Inn of Chancery pertaining to the Middle Temple, and was situated between Clare Market and the Strand. It seems extremely probable that he was a student there at this time, but there is no evidence that he proceeded, as was usual, to one of the Inns of Court.

In 1562 Elizabeth, in order to weaken the Guise party in France, which was being aided by Philip II, and with the hope of recovering Calais, made an alliance with the Huguenots. The treaty of Hampton Court, 20 September 1562, bound her to assist them with men and money, while she was to hold Havre until Calais was restored. An expedition to occupy Havre was

¹ It is first found, so far as is known, in 1757 in *Biographia Britannica*, IV, 2192.

² HCA 14/5, no. 288. I am indebted for this reference to Mr. J. W. Blake.

prepared and Humphrey Gilbert was commissioned to raise 100 footmen, whose pay commenced on 11 September, nine days before the treaty was signed. The English force, under the Earl of Warwick, landed at Havre on 29 October 1562, but did little to help the Huguenots, who lost ground steadily and, in March 1563, made an agreement with Catherine de Medici and turned against their English allies, who seemed to be concerned solely with establishing themselves in French territory. Towards the end of May the garrison at Havre was surrounded by a French force and on 5 June Gilbert was wounded in a skirmish by an arquebus shot. Warwick, reporting this to the Queen, declared 'surely, there is not a vallyanter man that lyveth; and so hath his dedes well shewyd it now at this time'¹. The blockade and an epidemic forced Warwick to surrender on 28 July and the remnant of the English force was shipped home in August. Gilbert's pay ceased on 4 August, but he was given some money to pay the travelling expenses of his men from Portsmouth to their homes². Apparently his band was not finally disbanded, but was sent for service on the Scottish border, where its lieutenant was mentioned in July 1564³, but there is no evidence that Gilbert served in person in the north.

2. THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE

From a tentative suggestion made by Gosling, writing in 1911⁴, it has become a fact accepted by recent English writers that Gilbert first became interested in overseas expansion during his stay at Havre. Dr. Williamson goes so far as to say 'Humphrey Gilbert came home from the war with two projects which alternately occupied his mind for the rest of his life. One

¹ Warwick to Elizabeth, 6 June 1563, in Forbes, *A full view of the public transactions, in the reign of Elizabeth*, II (1741), 420. See too Churchyard, *Generall rehearsall of warres*, sig. C14v; Stow, *Annals* (ed. by Howes, 1615), p. 654.

² Account of Sir Maurice Denny, treasurer of the army sent to Newhaven, 1562-3. AO 1/283, 1069. Payments to Gilbert, for himself and his troops, amounted to £1,113 9s. 4d., and deductions included £1 8s. 4d. in fines 'for not comyng to church'.

³ *CSP For.* 1564-6, no. 548.

⁴ Gosling, *The life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, pp. 55-6.

was to raid the Spanish West in the manner of the Huguenots. The other was to open the North West Passage to Cathay¹. There is no definite evidence to support these assertions and they should not be made categorically, but it is possible that amongst the people Gilbert encountered there were Thevet, the French geographer, and the Englishman, Richard Eden, while many of the Huguenots were undoubtedly concerned in expeditions to the West Indies and in projects for a colony in Florida, which Jean Ribault established and from which he returned in July 1562. It is clear, however, that Gilbert must have begun his geographical studies and developed his interest in America and the North-west Passage shortly after his return to England, although nothing is known of his activities between 1563 and 1565. By the time Gilbert returned from France English interest in the colonisation of North America had just begun to be stimulated through Ribault's arrival in England in March 1563, and the publication of his account of his Florida expedition² (the first detailed account of a visit to North America to appear in English). There were also plans for an Anglo-French expedition under Ribault and Thomas Stukeley, with Elizabeth's encouragement, in the summer of 1563 to occupy the site of the French colony which had been abandoned. Although the expedition fell through, Ribault remained in England until 1565 and Gilbert may have met him, although he was in prison for part of the time. An English venture by Hawkins was intended to establish a colony there in 1564, but was forestalled by a new French force under Laudonnière, and Hawkins contented himself with calling on his way back from the West Indies in the summer of 1565 and trying to induce the French to come home. Ribault, after his return to France, went out to Florida and within a few weeks after his arrival was killed by the Spaniards. Laudonnière and the survivors came home³, and interest in England was sufficient for an account of the end

¹ *Age of Drake* (1938), p. 40. See also *Cambridge history of the British Empire*, I (1929), 54.

² Published by Thomas Hackett, 30 May 1563, as *The whole and true discoverye of Terra Florida*. See also H. P. Biggar, 'Jean Ribaut's discoverye of Terra Florida' in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxxii (1917), 253-70.

³ Williamson, *Hawkins*, pp. 96-100, 110-5; *Age of Drake*, pp. 60-1, 65.

of the French colony to be published in 1566¹. Conditions were, therefore, suitable for Gilbert to develop a knowledge of and to obtain information on North America.

It was not towards Florida, however, that his interests were attracted particularly, but towards the north-west passage. Anthony Jenkinson returned to England on 28 September 1564 after his second attempt to develop an overland trade with the East Indies and China by way of Russia. Although he had done something to establish trading connections with Persia, he was dissatisfied with the results of his journeys for the Muscovy Company during the previous seven years because no direct contact had been made with the Far East, and on his return he took up again the old project of Stephen Borough for an expedition by way of one of the northerly sea passages to China. At the end of May 1565 he addressed a petition to the Queen, putting forward arguments for the existence of a northerly passage and offering his services if Elizabeth would sponsor an expedition. Discussing the chances as between a north-east and a north-west passage, he said that some affirm 'the same by the North-west' ('Takinge there Authoritye of Certen awthors who wrote by Conjecture) which opinion I do not wholly dissent from; So am I fully perswaded that to the Northeaste there is no doughte of a passage to be fownde'; and put forward arguments in support of his view². A short time after this, probably before the end of the year, Humphrey Gilbert prepared a petition to the Queen on the same topic³. He did not commit himself on the question of whether a north-east or north-west venture was likely to be more successful, but offered to undertake 'the discoveringe of a passage by the Northe, to go to Cataia, & all other the east partes of the worlde', provided that he, with his two brothers, was given monopoly rights and received one-fifth of the customs on goods brought by the

¹ N. le Shalleux, *A true and perfect description, of the last voyage or navigation, attempted by Capitaine John Rybaut, deputie and generall for the French men, into Terra Florida, this yeare past. 1565*, published by Thomas Hacket. The Epistle is dated 25 May 1566.

² The two versions, dated respectively 30 and 31 May, are collated in Morgan and Coote, *Early travels to Russia and Persia*, pp. 159-66.

³ Document no. 1, pp. 105-6.

passage for ninety-nine years. His two brothers were obviously John and Adrian, but who his 'freindes' were, who were to help him finance the expedition, is not known. The existing draft of the petition is not likely to have been presented to the Queen¹, but some such petition was sent in, and it is not clear how distinct Gilbert's project was at the beginning from that of Jenkinson. Some time towards the end of 1565, or early in 1566, both the petitioners were brought 'before the Queenes Majestie, and certain Lordes of the Counsell' to expound their views, which, it appeared, diverged, Jenkinson maintaining that, while there might be a north-west passage, he was sure that the north-east passage 'was easily navigable. Gilbert, apparently, took the contrary view that the evidence for a north-west passage was superior. Our only report of the debate is given by Gilbert, who sets down three propositions made by Jenkinson and his own answers to them. Jenkinson asserted, firstly, that a fisherman of 'Tartaria' had told him he had sailed far to the east and believed that there was a passage. Gilbert replied that this was not expert evidence. Secondly, Jenkinson said that a unicorn's horn, which must have come from the Far East, had been found on the northern shores, of which Gilbert said that it could not have been a unicorn's horn and was probably the horn of an animal found in the north. The third point was that there was a continuous westward flowing current, which Gilbert said was due to rivers flowing into the north². The issues were trivial, but Gilbert, if he reports the discussion correctly, succeeded in displaying some geographical knowledge.

The next development was that the two joined forces, Jenkinson presumably giving way to Gilbert's preferences. They apparently made a joint appeal for royal privileges, but, before he left England on 4 May 1566 for Russia on Muscovy Company business, Jenkinson wrote, probably to Cecil, on behalf of both of them to complain that no notice had been taken of their previous petitions and putting forward the terms which they desired to have granted to them³. From Russia, Jenkinson endeavoured to remind Cecil once more, and showed some

¹ See note 5, p. 106 below.

² Document no. 15, pp. 156-8.

³ Document no. 2, pp. 106-7.

suspicion of Gilbert by asking that, if Gilbert were granted any privileges, he, Jenkinson, should be joined with him¹.

When Jenkinson wrote, Gilbert was just completing the first version of 'A discourse of a discoverie for a new passage to Cataia'². His introductory letter to his elder brother, Sir John Gilbert, is dated 30 June 1566 and informs him that the 'discourse' and its 'universall Map' is intended to prove to him, by 'the authoritie of learned Geographers, the reasons of wise Philosophers, [and] the experience of painfull travellers', that 'my hope of this discoverie and passage, was not so rashe, or foolishhe, as you heretofore have deemed'³. The only form in which we have the 'discourse' is that which was printed in 1576, and this contains a certain amount of material added by Gilbert between 1570 and 1576, and possibly certain editorial changes made by George Gascoigne. Substantially, however, it is clear that the greater part of the essay was that written in the early part of 1566.

The 'discourse', as written in 1566, was an academic exercise by a fairly recent recruit to geographical studies, endeavouring to set down all the evidence available to him on the possible existence of a north-west passage. That many of its arguments were silly and credulous and that it was largely out of date by the time it was published should not obscure its significance at the time it was written. It was the first considerable English treatise on a project about which, for forty years, many had thought, and, though many of his authorities may be cited at second-hand⁴, Gilbert showed some evidence of research, for example in his citation of Cabot maps and documents⁵, as well as a good general knowledge of European geographical lore. Where he frees himself from bondage to his authorities Gilbert's writing is clear, vigorous, and even passionate and, when he pleased, he could show some critical skill. It is fair to say that, in the discussion as between a north-west and a north-east

¹ 26 June 1566. Document no. 3, pp. 107-8.

² Document no. 15, pp 129-65.

³ pp. 134-5 below.

⁴ See Taylor, *Tudor geography*, 1485-1583, pp. 32-6. For a more favourable view see Rowse, *Grenville*, pp. 84-6.

⁵ p. 147 below.

passage, he 'handles Jenkinson's arguments with a critical sense that would have played havoc with his own, if it had been so directed'¹. The cordiform map which is added to the treatise is generally recognised to have little originality and to have been taken from the general map published by Ortelius in 1564².

In discussing 'What commodities woulde ensue, this passage once discovered'³ Gilbert concentrated on the benefits to trade which would arise if a direct trade with Asia could be established. He stressed the short-circuiting of Spanish and Portuguese enterprise that would follow. He also noted the possible value of trade with the American Indians. He suggested that a colony might be established as a trading base and a half-way house between England and Asia 'about Sierra Nevada', on the west coast of North America. In addition he suggested, and was among the first Englishmen to do so, that colonisation in America should be attempted for its own sake. 'Also we might inhabite some parte of those Countreys', he said, 'and settle there such needie people of our Countrie, which now trouble the common welth, and through want here at home, are inforced to commit outragious offences, whereby they are dayly consumed with the Gallowes.' Settlement, however, for him was still a trading convenience or a social prophylactic, and it is not until he had gone to Ireland and become concerned with plans for land settlement there that he began to appreciate the possibilities of colonisation as a source of territorial wealth and power for its promoters.

Before he had written his letter to Sir John Gilbert, Humphrey Gilbert must have been engaged for military service in Ireland for his pay as a captain commenced on 12 July 1566⁴, and he deserted his north-west schemes for the Irish wars between July and the end of November, but renewed them on his return to England about the beginning of December. He

¹ Manhart, 'English search for a North-west Passage' in *Studies in English commerce and exploration*, p. 21.

² See HARRISSE, *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, p. xvi; Anthiaume, *Cartes marines, constructions navales, voyages de découverte chez les Normands*, II, 481 seq.; Wagner, *Cartography of the north-west coast of America*, I, 77; II, 107. The map is reproduced facing p. 164 below.

³ pp. 160-1 below.

⁴ IIMC, *DeL'Isle and Dudley*, I, 393.

thereupon presented a new petition to the Queen on his own behalf, and without mention of Jenkinson¹, asking for privileges for a north-west discovery, to be begun after March 1568². He refers to the act of parliament, confirming the privileges of the Muscovy Company, passed in November 1566, and claims, probably incorrectly³, to be already a member of the company. He implies that he is willing to undertake the discovery under the auspices of the company, provided he is assured of certain privileges for himself. He desired to have for him and his assigns the right to trade for forty years by the passage with one or two ships, paying only nominal customs. He asked for one-tenth part of all the lands discovered, which he undertook to hold of the crown, and also that he should be governor for life of all such lands. The latter requests are significant for they show that during his few months' service in Ireland he had become interested for the first time in the territorial aspects of settlement. Cecil made a number of notes on this document⁴, suggesting improvements in its drafting and certain provisos to safeguard the interests of the Crown, and this indicates that he approved the project in general.

Gilbert drew up a revised draft of his petition⁵, embodying Cecil's suggestions, and a copy of this was sent to the governor and assistants of the Muscovy Company for their consideration. Gilbert was willing to recognise the general privilege of a monopoly of trade to Asia by the north which the company held, as Sir William Gerrard and alderman Rowland Hayward, in their reply to Cecil on 24 January 1567⁶, acknowledged. The detailed criticisms appended to Gilbert's articles⁷, however, indicated that the company required substantial modifications in his scheme before they would accept it. They were determined 'to have the rule and ordering of all discoveries towards the said parties, agreynge to their priveledges'. They were there-

¹ Document no. 4, pp. 108-10. It is possible that Jenkinson was back in England for a short time during the winter of 1566-7 (Morgan and Coote, p. xlix), but there is no evidence that he revived his interest in the north-west passage.

² See p. 13, n. 2, below.

³ p. 110 below.

⁴ Document no. 5, pp. 110-1.

⁵ See p. 108, n. 3, below.

⁶ SP 12/42, 23 (i).

⁷ Document no. 6, pp. 111-5.

fore hostile to Gilbert's request for one-tenth of the lands discovered and to that giving him and his associates customs privileges. They required that all participants should be members of the company and under their control. Subject to these qualifications they were willing to allow that 'Mr Gylbarte acceptinge the freedome of the said socyetye maybe appointed in persone and not by substytute, to be Captene and governour of the Contries by hys travell to be founde'. Other items in the petition might be left to the Queen. In effect the reply was a rejection of any autonomous enterprise by Gilbert and offered him the support of the company only if he became its servant and carried out his discoveries under its orders.

On 15 March 1567 the Spanish ambassador, Guzman de Silva, wrote to Philip II to say that he had heard of Gilbert's plans for an expedition to Asia by the north-west¹. He showed sufficient knowledge of the proposed route to make it possible that he had seen Gilbert's map, and he was under the impression that he intended to proceed with the project, for he proposed to get in touch with him to learn of his intentions in more detail. It is fairly clear that by this time, however, Gilbert had given up the project owing to the obstructive attitude of the Muscovy Company, and, in April 1567, he undertook to raise another company of men for the Irish service and left for Ireland during May².

Professor Taylor suggests, on rather slight evidence, that the elder Hakluyt had been in touch with Gilbert and had given him advice regarding his north-west project³, and it is clear that John Dee had some knowledge of Gilbert's plans, for, writing on 9 February 1571, he expressed the hope that he might renew his enterprise⁴.

¹ Document no. 7, pp. 115-6.

² See p. 13 below.

³ Adrian, Humphrey Gilbert's younger brother, had a chamber in the Middle Temple where Hakluyt lived. Hakluyt and John Ashley wrote a letter, assigned to 1567-8, to Ortelius, showing their belief in the existence of a north-west passage and containing a passage parallel with one in Gilbert's 'Discourse'. Taylor, *Writings and correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts*, pp. 5-6, 77-83.

⁴ Document no. 8, pp. 116-7.

3. IRELAND

For the greater part of four years, between 1566 and 1570, Gilbert was soldiering and planning colonies in Ireland. The Elizabethan re-conquest of Ireland was a slow, expensive and painful process, full of financial, military, political and administrative problems of which colonisation was one. For the statesmen and administrators colonisation was a policy of despair, a recognition of their failure to fit Irish society neatly and cheaply into the steel framework of Tudor administration. To the greedy, adventurous and ruthless speculators who served there, or were aware of the government's problems, Irish colonisation had a different aspect. Colonisation was a 'project' which might provide them with land and wealth at the expense of the conquered Irish and, with government backing, might prove more profitable than monopolies, piracy, office or alchemy at home.

In the autumn of 1566 the first large-scale attempt to conquer north-west Ulster was prepared. The Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, was to march from Dublin and a force, under Randolph, was to come from England to co-operate by sea and seize Derry. Humphrey Gilbert, as captain of a company of soldiers, was enlisted to accompany him and probably sailed from Bristol on 6 September. The fleet put in at the English town of Carrickfergus and Gilbert was one of those who landed to take part in some fighting in its vicinity, his first taste of Irish war. The expedition proceeded to Derry where a successful landing was made and a fortified camp constructed. Randolph and Gilbert were joined by Sidney on 12 October, but the Lord Deputy left Ulster within a few weeks, having failed in his main purpose of meeting with and defeating Shane O'Neill. He left a garrison behind at Derry, but took Gilbert with him to Drogheda and despatched him with letters to Cecil and the Queen, dated 12 November¹. It was probably at this time that Gilbert first dis-

¹ *CSP Ir.* 1515-74, pp. 308, 317-18; Churchyard, *Generall rehearsall of warres*, sig. Q4-4v; Calthorpe MS. 16, f. 380.

cussed with Sidney the long-mooted plan for a plantation of English settlers in Ulster¹.

In England Gilbert renewed his petitions to the Queen for permission to embark on the discovery of the North-west Passage in a year's time², but, following the unfavourable report of the Muscovy Company on his project at the end of January 1567, he appears to have begun to interest his Devonshire friends in the possibilities of a colony in Ulster, as an alternative to an expedition to Cathay.

In May he went back to Ireland with a fresh company of soldiers³ and with his plans far enough advanced for him to get the cautious approval of Elizabeth, who, early in June, told Sidney to discuss them with Gilbert and make a full report on the Ulster situation⁴. The latter had changed in favour of the English with the death of Shane O'Neill and it seemed as if something might be done about establishing a colony. A further recommendation for Gilbert was sent in a letter of 6 July⁵ and Sir Francis Knollys suggested that, as soon as some land settlement between the native O'Neills and the immigrant Scots could be arrived at, Gilbert should be installed as president of a provincial administration and, with his friends and such labourers and craftsmen as could be sent over, entrusted with the establishment of a colony in the remaining lands⁶. Sir Arthur Champernown, Gilbert's uncle, was sufficiently interested to make a journey to Ireland to discuss further arrangements with Sidney.⁷ Unfortunately we do not know the details of the project or Sidney's comments on it, but it seems probable that Gilbert and Champernown, when confronted with the complex and unsettled state of Ulster, renounced the scheme of their

¹ See R. Dunlop, 'Sixteenth century schemes for the plantation of Ulster', in *Scottish Historical Review*, xxii (1924), 51-6.

² He gives March 1568 in SP 12/42, 23 (i) and March 1569 in document no. 6 below, which can be taken as 1568, 1569, or 1570, but, as both versions of the petition, written December 1566-January 1567, say as well 'followinge Marche come twelve monthes', it is clearly 1568 that is meant. See p. 111 below.

³ HMC, *De L'Isle and Dudley*, I, 343; APC 1558-70, pp. 345-6; CSP Ir. 1575-74, p. 331.

⁴ Document no. 9, pp. 118-9.

⁵ Document no. 10, pp. 119-20.

⁶ Document no. 11, p. 121.

⁷ Document no. 12, pp. 121-2.

own accord. Sidney, while he hoped to establish a colony, was well aware of the difficulties. Later he pointed out to Cecil¹ that it would be equally costly for the government to keep an army or finance a settlement in Ulster, but that there was room for many settlers if private speculators could be induced to plant a 'Collany'. To succeed, however, 'they must be so furnished with mony, apparell, victualle, and meanes to tyll the grounde, and seede for the same, as if they should imagine to finde nothings here but earthe, And in dede Littell els shall they finde savinge only fleshe, and some beastes for careing of the grounde'. As much realism might have saved some of the early American ventures from false hopes or disaster.

Gilbert may have come to England with Sidney towards the end of 1567² and he was certainly there in April 1568³. He was among those whom Sidney suggested as president of the proposed council of Munster in June and, in August, Sidney asked Cecil to send Gilbert to him in Shropshire⁴, but Gilbert was seriously ill and was unable to return to duty until after Sidney had reached Ireland. He arrived in November with a recommendation that he should be given a better place⁵. He must have been well enough before leaving England to have revived his scheme for a colony in Ireland, this time in Munster, for early in 1569 he is involved in a series of projects for a plantation there. The position in Munster was complicated in the extreme. Desmond, head of the most powerful Anglo-Irish family in the south, was a prisoner in London at Elizabeth's mercy. His cousin, James Fitzmaurice, was thus able to become a power in Munster and to link up with the local Irish lords, who were in a state of intermittent warfare with the English. Sidney paid a brief visit to Munster at the end of 1568, probably accompanied by Gilbert, and reported that something must be done to establish

¹ 20 November 1568. SP 63/26, 18.

² His troops remained in service. See *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 4, pp. 294-5; HMC, *De L'Isle and Dudley*, I, 243-4, 400, 403; *CSP Ir.* 1515-74, pp. 358-60, 363, 404, 408. A document, partly written in the first person, records the 'Visions' of 'H. G.' and his 'skrier', the boy John Davis, on 24, 25, 26 February, 14, 15, 17, 22 March, and 6 April 1568. No places are mentioned. BM Add. MS. 36674, ff. 58-62.

³ C 54/781.

⁴ SP 63/25, 11; HMC, *De L'Isle and Dudley*, II, 8-9.

⁵ *CSP Ir.* 1515-74, p. 392; HMC, *De L'Isle and Dudley*, II, 9.

English rule firmly there. At this time Sir Warham St. Leger and Richard Grenville, who had bought lands from Desmond and were trying to establish a small colony between Cork and Kinsale¹, made contact with Gilbert and others to work out a scheme for a corporate settlement round Baltimore, further to the west. The earliest form in which it was put forward showed that the petitioners, Sir Warham St. Leger, Edward Sentlowe, Richard Grenville, Thomas Leton, Humphrey Gilbert, Jacques Wingfield, and Gilbert Talbot, were chiefly interested in the fishing on the south coast, which they proposed to exploit, custom free, if they were given Baltimore and certain islands as bases². Later it developed into an elaborate plan for the complete confiscation of the lands of the native Irish in Munster and the transfer of the province to a private corporation, which should undertake confiscation, plantation and government³. This proposal, dated 12 February 1569, was first addressed to Sidney and was forwarded by him to England⁴, and about the same time the petitioners sent another version direct to the Privy Council, which was critically but sympathetically annotated by Cecil⁵, who also prepared a memorandum on the royal rights to be reserved from the grantees⁶. The Privy Council then sent to the petitioners a list of things it was proposed to accept and reject in the petitions⁷. In particular, it was indicated that the whole province would not be handed over, but, with a number of provisos, only a tract of country inland from Cork city to Kilmallock, and westwards to the Blasket Islands, comprising most of counties Cork and Kerry and a small part of Limerick. On 12 April the petitioners, in reply, accepted some of the reservations, but pleaded for the whole of the three counties at least.⁸ A reply from the Privy Council, not extant, appears to

¹ A. L. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, pp. 64-6.

² Document no. 13, pp. 122-4.

³ The documents are summarised in Appendix I. Internal evidence indicates a close connection with document no. 13, but they are not signed. Froude (*History of England*, x (1870), 490) declares that the first of them was attested by twenty-seven names, including Gilbert, St. Leger, Sir Peter Carew, 'Courteneyes, Chichesters and others'. It is possible that, since Froude wrote, a sheet containing the names has been lost.

⁴ Appendix I, pp. 490-3. ⁵ Appendix I, pp. 493-4. ⁶ Appendix I, p. 494.

⁷ Appendix I, pp. 494-6.

⁸ Appendix I, pp. 496-7.

have maintained its position, and a final reply for the petitioners accepted, in substance, the Privy Council's terms¹. They desired that the scheme should be referred to Sidney and, accordingly, Cecil sent him a summary version of the petitions², to which Sidney gave his approval in general terms on 30 June³. How far Gilbert was involved in these negotiations is not clear, but they are of interest as they may well have influenced the type of territorial and administrative system which he devised for the proposed American colony of 1582-3.

By the time Sidney's approval was given, however, Munster was in flames. James Fitzmaurice joined with the threatened Irish lords to destroy the Grenville-St. Leger colony⁴, and it seemed as if the whole of Munster might be lost to the English. There was also trouble in the Midlands. Sir Peter Carew had recently vamped-up medieval titles to lands long in the possession of the Butler family and had established himself, early in 1569, in the barony of Idrone, co. Carlow. This had antagonised Sir Edmund Butler, who was chiefly affected by the intrusion, and he prepared to join with Fitzmaurice and resist Carew. Sidney sent Gilbert with a force to aid Carew and he was in action in co. Kilkenny in July⁵. This nipped Butler's rebellion in the bud, and Sidney was able to make an expedition through Kilkenny and Tipperary to relieve Cork and to go from there to Limerick, accompanied by Gilbert. On 8 September, at Sidney's departure, Gilbert was made colonel of the army in Munster—in effect, he was to be military governor of the province—and was entrusted with the final suppression of the rebellion⁶. During the next three months, with all the enthusiasm of his first independent command, he drove his forces up and down Munster, destroying, or terrorising into submission, Irish and Anglo-Irish alike. Graphic descriptions of

¹ Appendix I, p. 497.

² Appendix I, p. 497.

³ SP 63/28, 58.

⁴ Rowse, *Grenville*, pp. 66-9; G. H. Bushnell, *Sir Richard Grenville*, pp. 49-63.

⁵ Churchyard, *Generall rehearsall of warres*, sig. Q4v; SP 63/29, 60; 'The lyffe of sir Peter Carewe, collected by John Vowell alias Hoker, of the cetie of Excestre' in *Archaeologia*, xxviii (1840), p. 137; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, II (1587), 130; *Cal. Carew MSS.* 1515-75, pp. 387-8; Curtis, 'Extracts out of the Heralds' Books in Trinity College, Dublin', in *Journ. R. Soc. of Antiquities of Ir.*, LXII, 32-41.

⁶ His 'allowances' etc. *Cal. pat. rolls, Ir., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, pp. 535-7.

his policy and activities are given by Churchyard and in his own letters¹. His method of waging war was to devastate the country, killing every living creature encountered by his troops. If a castle did not yield at the first demand he would accept no later submission, but would take it by assault and kill every person in it. He made the Irish lords, who came to surrender, walk to his tent between two lines of heads cut from his dead enemies, and forced them, after abject submission, to enter into bonds and put in pledges for good behaviour. He rode rough-shod over the chartered liberties of the Anglo-Irish towns, 'annswereing them', he told Sidney, 'that the Prince had a Regular and absolute power, and that which might not be done by the one, I wolde do yt by the other in Casez of necessatie'—an interesting statement of the doctrine of prerogative. Churchyard stresses his contempt for the Irish, of whom he said 'that he thought his Dogges eares to good, to heare the speeche of the greateste noble manne emongest them'. His considered opinion was 'that no Conquered nacion will ever yelde willenglie their obedience for love but rather for feare'. This ruthlessness made him almost a legendary figure in Ireland, and Raleigh in 1581, pleading that Gilbert should be sent back to Munster, said that no man had been more feared there². His views on the treatment of subject peoples, from a man who might well have formed the first English settlement among the North American Indians, are of some interest.

By the end of the year the rebellion appeared to be, but was not, crushed, and Gilbert was called from his post to join Sidney at Dublin, where he arrived with a retinue of important persons who had submitted. He was knighted at Drogheda on 1 January 1570 for his services³. As early as 12 July 1569 Gilbert had asked to be allowed to return to England on account of an affection of his eyes, and he had made repeated requests for his recall in November and December. He now pleaded urgent

¹ *Generall rehearsall of warres*, sig. Q1-R1; letters to Sidney of 12 November, 1 and 6 December, SP 63/29, 82-3. See also Holinshed, *Chronicles*, II, 130-2; *Cal. Carew MSS.* 1515-75, p. 389; *CSP Ir.* 1515-74, pp. 420-4.

² *CSP Ir.* 1574-85, p. 289.

³ *Cal. Carew MSS.* 1575-88, p. 348; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, II, 132; Churchyard, *Generall rehearsall of warres*, sig. R1.

business in England, was given leave by Sidney and arrived in England about the end of January 1570¹. His departure from Ireland was intended to be merely temporary, but his leave seems to have been extended to 25 March 1571. He should then have returned, but did not, as the Privy Council noted on 16 July that he had been absent from his charge since Lady Day. He was evidently given permission to remain in England and his company in Ireland was ordered to be discharged in September².

It is possible that it had been intended that he should return to Munster as president of the provincial council that was being established, but, in November 1570, Sir John Perrot was appointed President of Munster and took up his duties in February 1571. In 1572 Gilbert took up again with Sir John Perrot³ his old scheme for a colony in co. Cork, in collaboration once more with his uncle, Sir Arthur Champenoun. His notes on the project contain important suggestions on English economic policy towards Ireland⁴ and a proposal that he should be granted Baltimore and the land adjacent to it for a colony. He also desired to have the right of taking customs from the Spanish fishing fleets off the Kerry coast, a monopoly of trade with the Irish districts of the south-west, mineral rights all over Ireland and the grant of all lands captured by him from the Irish⁵. Nothing is known to have come of this project, but it is clear that he continued to be considered an authority on Ireland, and early in 1574 he prepared for the Queen a memorandum on military measures to be taken in Ireland, without, however, making any proposals for colonisation⁶. His Irish

¹ *CSP Ir.* 1515-74, pp. 413, 425.

² *APC* 1571-5, p. 37; *CSP Ir.* 1515-74, p. 458. Although he was paid £4,620 15s. 6d. between 23 June 1569 and 1 September 1571 (*AO* 1/284, 1072), money evidently remained owing to him. He was ordered to be advanced £600 by the Privy Council in July 1571 (*APC*, p. 37), but his accounts dragged on and were not satisfied by 1575. See *CSP For.* 1572-4, p. 173; *CSP Ir.* 1515-74, pp. 442, 455, 476, 528, 532; *CSP Ir.* 1574-85, pp. 5, 19, 88.

³ If Carew's annotations on the document are to be credited.

⁴ See A. K. Longfield, *Anglo-Irish trade in the sixteenth century, passim*.

⁵ Document no. 14, pp. 124-8.

⁶ 'A discourse for the reformation particularly of Munster in Irland... written by Humfrye Gilbert knight at the Commaundement of the Quenes most excellent Majestic the 1 of Febr. 1573.' Calthorpe MS. 16, ff. 378-88.

colonising projects, though all abortive, are not unimportant in Gilbert's history as they turned his attention to the possibilities of colonisation in North America, and gave him some knowledge of the conditions and administrative framework within which settlement could be carried out.

4. MANY OCCUPATIONS

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was returned, with John Hawkins, as M.P. for Plymouth in the elections for the parliament which began on 2 April 1571 and lasted until 30 May¹. The first murmur of the struggle over monopolies, which was to be so important in the later years of the reign, appeared in a motion of the lawyer, Robert Bell, for the calling in of licences to four courtiers—probably patents for obtaining the fines or other income from enforcing the laws or giving dispensation from them. Gilbert seized on this to launch on 16 April a vigorous defence of the royal prerogative. He declared that Bell's motion was derogatory to the prerogative and said 'For what difference is to say, the Queen is not to use the priviledge of the Crown, and to say she is not Queen?' and ended by a statement that the Crown could assert absolute powers. This speech was disliked as 'implying many occasions of mischief'², and on 20 April Peter Wentworth, the outstanding protagonist of parliamentary power, made a bitter attack on Gilbert. 'He noted his disposition to flatter and fawn on the Prince, comparing him to the Cameleon, which can change himself into all colours, saving white; even so (said he) this reporter can change himself to all fashions but honesty'. Gilbert made an attempt to reply but 'he had the d[enial]l three tymes by the howse'³. In spite of this Gilbert was put, on 26 May, on a committee to consider a bill which arose out of Bell's motion and, on 28 May, on another to inquire into corruption of members of the House of Commons, and at the rising of parliament on 30 May he spoke on a motion to

¹ Browne Willis, *Notitia parliamentaria*, III, 80.

² D'Ewes, *Journals* (1682), pp. 167-8, 242.

³ D'Ewes, p. 175; 'Hoker's journal of the House of Commons in 1571', in *Trans. Devonshire Association*, XI, 479.

the Queen that she should engage on a forward policy in Ireland¹.

Gilbert's support for the prerogative power of the Crown is comprehensible, because it was only through it that he could hope to obtain the monopolies and privileges on which his various projects depended. It is significant that Gilbert's reward for defending the leasing out of royal rights of taxation as monopolies to private individuals should have been a grant of this kind for himself. On 25 June 1571 he received an appointment by patent for seven years to act as Receiver-general of fines levied by him for the enforcement of the statutes debarring unlawful games and providing for the maintenance of horses, armour, weapons, munitions and artillery by persons required to serve in time of war. He was to receive half the proceeds of the fines levied².

Shortly after, Gilbert became involved in another project—an elaborate mining and alchemical venture—which was to occupy him intermittently during the next five years. William Medley, an alchemist, convinced Sir Thomas Smith that he could transmute iron into copper, and Smith joined with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Cecil and Leicester in obtaining a patent from the Queen, dated 4 December 1571, which granted them a monopoly 'to trye out and make of yron verye true perfytt and good Copper and of Antymonye and leade lykewyse true and perfytt quyckesilver', and incorporated them as 'the Governour & Societie of the newe arte'³. The history of this venture is obscure and it is not proposed to deal with it in detail⁴. Sir

¹ D'Ewes, p. 189; *Commons journals*, 1, 93; Hooker, pp. 488-9. See Pollard, *History of England 1547-1603*, pp. 362-3; Cheyney, *History of England from the defeat of the Armada to the death of Elizabeth*, 11, 286-96; Neale, 'Peter Wentworth', in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxxix, 40-1.

² Pat. R. 13 Eliz., pt. 11, m. 1, C 66/1081; SP 15/20, 47.

³ Pat. R. 14 Eliz., pt. 12, m. 22-6, C 66/1093. See too BM, Lans. MS. 14, ff. 40-1v.

⁴ The accounts given by Strype (*Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, pp. 100, 105, 282-6; *Annals of the reformation*, 11, pt. 1, 356), while they contain some information, are not consistent. The documentary evidence for the project includes the following letters: 9 January 1572. Smith to Gilbert (*CSP For. Jan.-June 1583, and addenda 1553-83*, no. 416, SP 70/146, 13, p. 10); 20 January 1572. Smith to Gilbert (*ibid.*, no. 424, SP 70/146, 13, p. 30); 8 February 1572. Smith to Gilbert (*ibid.*, no. 428, SP 70/146, 13, p. 33); 8

Thomas Smith was sent as ambassador to France almost immediately after the grant of the patent, and he left Gilbert to supervise the activities of Medley in the smelting works leased from Lady Katherine Mountjoy at Poole. Gilbert, however, was content to remain in London and receive optimistic reports from Medley, much to Smith's exasperation, between January and May 1572. By May Medley had fallen out with Gilbert and was threatening to give up the enterprise. Gilbert set out on a military expedition to the Netherlands at the beginning of July and did not return until November. By this time the project had collapsed through lack of capital. It was revived in 1574, probably, in part at least, as a legitimate mining venture, and with money borrowed from the Queen. Gilbert retained his interest in it¹, and Strype mentions accounts going down to Christmas 1576², which show considerable losses. It is not known how much Gilbert lost altogether in the scheme, one which is typical of many speculative ventures of the period.

During 1571 Elizabeth had been manoeuvring to detach France from Spain and preparing for an attack on the latter. In April 1572 she achieved the defensive alliance of Blois with France and the capture of Brille by Dutch freebooters, who had been encouraged to use English ports as a base, which was followed by spasmodic and almost universal risings against the Spaniards. French and English then commenced a programme

February 1572. Smith to Burghley (*ibid.*, no. 431, SP 70/146, 13, p. 41; *CSP For.* 1572-4, no. 113, SP 70/122); 15 February 1572. Lady K. Mountjoy to Burghley (*CSP Dom.* 1547-80, p. 426, SP 12/85, 45); 16 March 1572. Smith to Burghley (*CSP For. Add.*, no. 447, SP 70/146, 13, p. 62); 10 April 1572. Smith to Gilbert (*ibid.*, no. 458, SP 70/146, 13, p. 81); [15 April 1572]. Smith to Gilbert (*ibid.*, no. 464, SP 70/146, 13, p. 86); 19 April 1572. Medley to Burghley (*CSP Dom.*, p. 440, SP 12/86, 14); 19 May 1572. Medley to Burghley (*ibid.*, p. 443, SP 12/86, 44); 20 May 1572. Smith to Gilbert (*CSP For. Add.*, no. 495, SP 70/146, 13, p. 112); 20 May 1572. Smith to Medley (*ibid.*, no. 496, SP 70/146, 13, p. 113); 7 March 1574[-5?]. Smith and Leicester to Burghley (Strype, *Annals*, II, pt. 2, 555); 8 March 1574[-5?]. Smith to Burghley (*ibid.*, p. 557); 16 December 1574. Smith to Burghley and Leicester (BM, Lans. MS. 19, ff. 97-100v); miscellaneous documents which may be connected with the venture, Lans. MSS. 13, nos. 8, 42-3; 14, nos. 8-14; 18, nos. 47, 53; 19, nos. 100-1; 29, no. 16; 31, no. 25; 47, no. 71.

¹ Mentioned in a deed of 29 November 1574. C 54/962.

² *Annals*, II, pt. 1, 356.

of intervention, by which parties of 'volunteers' were sent, with government assistance, to the aid of the Dutch. The advance-guard of the English force went over in June 1572 and Gilbert was selected to command the main body of some 1100 men which sailed for Flushing on 8 July¹. Gilbert had a difficult part to play. Officially he was a volunteer and liable to be outlawed by his own government; secretly, he was in constant communication with Burghley and had arranged that if he was ordered by the Privy Council to return he was to ignore their commands until he received word from Burghley.

¹ The following documents refer to Gilbert's activities: 10 July 1572. La Mothe-Fénélon to Charles IX (*Correspondance diplomatique*, v, 43); 14 July. Herle to Burghley (Wright, *Queen Elizabeth and her times*, I, 422-6; Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Relations politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre*, vi, 454-5; BM, Lans. MS. 15, f. 164); 15 July. Capitulations between Gilbert and Flushing (*CSP For.* 1572-3, nos. 402-3; Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 457; SP 70/124; BM, Cotton MS. Galba C IV, f. 303); 16 July. News (*CSP For.*, no. 478; SP 70/124); July. News (*CSP For.*, no. 511; SP 70/124); 18 July. Smith to Walsingham (Digges, *Complot ambassador*, p. 231); 20 July. La Mothe-Fénélon to Charles IX (*Corr. dipl.*, v, 60); 21 July. Fogaçe to Alva (Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 462; *CSP Sp.* 1568-79, no. 339; BM, Cotton MS. Galba C iv, ff. 258-62v); 22 July. La Mothe-Fénélon to Charles IX (*Corr. dipl.*, v, 64); 3 August. La Mothe-Fénélon to Charles IX (*Corr. dipl.*, v, 78); 5 August. Lee to Burghley (Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 474-5; *CSP Dom. Add.* 1566-79, p. 422; SP 15/21, 80); [c. 8 August]. Privy Council to Gilbert and instructions to Pickman (*CSP For.* Jan.-June 1583, and *Addenda* 1553-83, no. 499; SP 70/146, 14, p. 140; Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 483-8; BM, Lans. MS. 155, ff. 130v-134; Harl. MS. 36, ff. 265-7v; Cotton MS. Galba C IV, ff. 304-7v); 10 August. Burghley to Leicester (*CSP Dom.* 1547-80, p. 449; SP 12/89, 3); 11 August. La Mothe-Fénélon to Charles IX (*Corr. dipl.*, v, 88-9); 13 August. Gilbert to Burghley (*CSP For.*, no. 530; Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 488-9; SP 70/124); 23 August. Cotton to Burghley (Wright, I, 435-7; Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 497-9; BM, Cotton MS. Galba C iv, ff. 267-8v); 23 August. Gilbert to Burghley (*CSP For.*, no. 546; Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 499-500; SP 70/124); [August]. Waye to Burghley (*CSP For.*, no. 547; Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 473-4; SP 70/124); 28 August. La Mothe-Fénélon to Charles IX (*Corr. dipl.*, v, 108); 3 September. Gilbert to Burghley (*CSP For.*, no. 550; Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 505-6; SP 70/125); 6 September. Gilbert to Burghley (*CSP For.*, no. 556; Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 509; SP 70/125); 7 September. Gilbert to Burghley (*CSP For.*, no. 557; Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 510-1; SP 70/125); 8 September. [?] to Alva (*CSP Sp.*, no. 346); 25 September. de Jonge to Killegrew (*CSP For.*, no. 572; Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 529-30; SP 70/125); 27 September. Gilbert to Burghley (*CSP For.*, no. 576; Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 531; SP 70/125); 28 September. Gilbert to Burghley (*CSP For.*, no. 577; Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 532; SP 70/125).

In the Netherlands the campaign is a record of suspicion and intrigue between the French and English volunteers, and of military action under the divided leadership of Gilbert and 't Zereets which was incompetently managed and punctuated by quarrels between the commanders. It was carried on against a background of kaleidoscopic diplomatic changes, which did much to make it ineffective.

In July Elizabeth was considering intervention on a really large scale and sent a military mission to help to consolidate the Dutch forces. Gilbert was able to prepare a campaign in co-operation with his immediate employer, the town of Flushing, for an attack on Sluys and Bruges. The army left Walcheren for the mainland and summoned Sluys and Bruges, but did not attempt an assault, and the only result of the action was a successful attack on a Spanish convoy. Gilbert and 't Zereets then decided to divert their forces to an attack on the island and town of Goes. Shipping, sent from Flushing, enabled them to land safely, and desultory and ineffective fighting followed, against forces inferior in numbers, but superior in skill.

By the beginning of August Elizabeth's policy had shifted. The defeat of the main French force at Mons decided her against further entanglements in the Netherlands, and Gilbert was ordered to be very careful not to embroil her with Spain. French and English were endeavouring to involve each other in open hostilities with Spain, and each suspected the other of territorial designs in the Netherlands. Meantime Gilbert retired from Goes after an unsuccessful siege and established his forces in the vicinity of Flushing, where he occupied himself in curbing the activities of the Spanish garrison at Middelburg and defeated a sortie from it in the direction of Flushing.

The coolness between England and France developed into a temporary breach with the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and Elizabeth decided to reduce still further her commitments in the Netherlands, lest she should be involved with both France and Spain. Gilbert was furious at the massacre and his reaction was to propose that Elizabeth should attempt to seize for herself Walcheren and the adjacent islands, although he received no support for these suggestions. Towards the end of September

he made a further landing on Goes and attempted a night attack, which was a disastrous failure, and the crossing of a Spanish force from the mainland at low water, under Mondragon and Avila, decided the commanders of the Anglo-Dutch force to retreat, which they succeeded in doing with some loss. On his return to Flushing, Gilbert refused further offers of service with the prince of Orange and decided to return to England. It is probable that he received secret orders to return to Court. Elizabeth had veered towards an accommodation with Spain, and his recall would be a valuable gesture. Accordingly, he left Flushing at the beginning of November and, with the survivors of his force, had arrived in England before 9 November. Elaborate precautions, which did not deceive the Spanish ambassador, were taken to hide Gilbert's visit to the court after his return, and he and his men remained ostentatiously in disgrace while the negotiations for the renewal of trading relations with Spain were proceeding¹. Many of Gilbert's men were ill when they returned and some died, and he himself fell sick. On 11 December it was said that his sickness had turned into 'a Quartian'².

Roger Williams, who accompanied Gilbert on the Netherlands expedition and wrote a detailed account of it³, leaves an unfavourable impression of Gilbert's personality and military skill. He was given to blustering rages, as when he received a

¹ 4 November. Guaras to Alva (Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xc1, 49; Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 571; *CSP.Sp.*, no. 360); 9 November. Guaras to Alva (Navarrete, xc1, 55-6; Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 576-7; *CSP.Sp.*, no. 364); 17 November. Guaras to Alva (Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 583-4; BM, Cotton MS. Galba C 19, ff. 289-92). A promissory note, dated 1 November, from the Flushing authorities to Gilbert, provided for the payment to him of 3,700 'Carolus gyldern' (HCA 24/44, no. 13; printed by Marsden, *Select pleas in the Court of Admiralty*, II, 38). He received instalments of this sum on 29 November and 7 December and appointed, on 22 December, Anthony Woolcocke to receive the remainder (HCA 24/44, no. 14).

² Digges, *Compleat ambassador*, p. 299.

³ *The actions in the Low Countries*. Amongst the literary sources are Churchyard, *Generall rehearsall of warres* and *A lamentable and pitifull description, of the woofull warres in Flaunders*; Stow, *Annals* (ed. Howes); Camden, *Annales*; Meteren, *Histoire des Pays-Bas*. For modern accounts see Markham, *The fighting Veres*, pp. 42-8; Pollard, *Hist. of England 1547-1603*, pp. 331-9; Cheyney, *Hist. of England*, I, 190-3; Black, *Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 125.

defiant answer to his summons from the governor of Bruges. 'Sir Humfrey was in great choler; swearing divers oathes, that hee woould put all to the sword, unlesse they would yeeld'. He quarrelled with all his principal associates. Williams blames him severely for the failure of the night attack on Goes, although Gilbert himself laid the blame on 't Zereets. It is probable that one factor in his failures was lack of an adequate artillery train, which Williams recognises as a cause of the ill-success of 'our ignorant poor seige' of Goes. At the least, Gilbert's expedition had the negative effect of occupying considerable Spanish forces, which might otherwise have contributed materially to the destruction of the embryo Republic.

During the intervals between Gilbert's campaigns and speculations he managed to accumulate a considerable amount of land, to marry and have a large family¹. He obtained leases of land in Merionethshire from the Crown in 1565 and 1568², and, on 23 April 1568, bought three parts of the manor of Otterden from William Aucher of Bishopsbourne, Kent³. It was from this family that Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1570, chose his wife, Anne Aucher (or Ager), but it is not clear what was her relationship to William Aucher. Gosling⁴ says she was the daughter and heiress of Sir Anthony Aucher (d. 1558). Hasted, the historian of Kent, says in one place that she was the daughter of John Aucher, son of Sir Anthony⁵, and this is borne out by a herald's visitation of Kent in 1619⁶, which describes John Aucher as a younger son of Sir Anthony; but in another place Hasted says

¹ Four sons, John, Humphrey, Arthur and Anthony, are mentioned in a deed of 17 February 1581. (Close Roll, 23 Eliz., pt. 6, C 54/1102). He had also two other sons, Otho and Raleigh, and a daughter. Tenison, *Elizabethan England*, III, 103.

² Estymanner, 25 June 1565 (Pat. R. 7 Eliz., pt. 4, C 66/1012); Llanaver, 10 May 1568 (Pat. R. 10 Eliz., pt. 3, C 66/1043). These leases are mentioned in a deed of 29 November 1574 (Close R. 17 Eliz., pt. 1, C 54/962). Gilbert in 1567 held some land from Lord Pembroke in the lordship of Chalke (Straton, *Survey of the lands of William, first earl of Pembroke*, I, 101). He obtained another Welsh lease on 11 December 1577, Nevyn in Carnarvonshire (Pat. R. 20 Eliz., pt. 10, C 66/1173).

³ Close R. 10 Eliz., pt. 25, C 54/781. See also Close R. 12 Eliz., pt. 24, C 54/836.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁵ *History of Kent* (1st ed.), II, 501.

⁶ Cited in Tenison, *Elizabethan England*, III, 103.

that John Aucher was the son of William Aucher.¹ These points may be left to be settled by genealogists, but it may be pointed out that in a chancery action of 6 June 1572 Gilbert describes his wife as 'cousin and heir' to Sir Anthony Aucher, who had died intestate, and that the plaintiffs refer to an Anthony Aucher, who was a ward of the Crown, as the 'cosin and next heire male' to sir Anthony².

Gilbert appears to have got with his wife the manors of Postling and Badlesmere, and later acquired the interest of Henry, Lord Cheyne in the manor of Minster and other lands in Sheppey. These, with Otterden, provided Gilbert with security for raising money for his mining and American ventures, and their vicissitudes may be traced, with some difficulties of interpretation, on the close and patent rolls³. He wrote in July 1581 of the good living which his wife had brought him⁴ and which he had dissipated, and, in February 1583, he stated that he had disposed of lands worth 1000 marks a year⁵. He left his wife, on his departure in 1583, with only a very precarious interest in Minster, and, after his death, she had to be found, with the aid of her son Walter Raleigh, some small income by the Crown.⁶

¹ *History of Kent*, III, 401.

² Chancery Proceedings, Elizabeth, C 2/Eliz. G 11/18.

³ Otterden, 18 November 1574 (Close Roll 17 Eliz., pt. 17, C 54/978); 23 June 1578 (Cl. R. 20 E., pt. 14, C 54/1037); Postling, 1573 4 (Mem. R. (L.T.R.), Mich. 16 E., E 368/398); 22 May 1574 (Pat. R. 16 E., pt. 5, C 66/1112; Pat. R. 16 E., pt. 15, C 66/1122); 29 November 1574 (Cl. R. 17 E., pt. 1, C 54/962); 28 June 1578 (Cl. R. 20 E., pt. 20, C 54/1043); 30 June 1578 (Cl. R. 20 E., pt. 14, C 54/1037); 1580 (Mem. R. (L.T.R.), Hil. 22 E., E 368/418); 2 March 1580 (Cl. R. 22 E., pt. 23, C 54/1093); 17 June 1580 (Cl. R. 22 E., pt. 8, C 54/1078); Badlesmere, 1 February 1581 (Pat. R. 23 E., pt. 5, C 66/1202); 17-20 February 1581 (Cl. R. 23 E., pt. 22, C 54/1118); Minster, 1 February 1581 (Cl. R. 23 E., pt. 6, C 54/1102). Other deeds regarding land, to which Sir Humphrey Gilbert was a party between 1571 and 1576, are to be found in Cl. R. 14 E., pt. 2, C 54/869 (Richard Stoneley); Cl. R. 14 E., pt. 12, C 54/870 (Roger Marten); Cl. R. 14 E., pt. 20, C 54/887 (Henry Mackwilliam); Cl. R. 15 E., pt. 6, C 54/901 (Richard Stonley, *bis*); Cl. R. 16 E., pt. 13, C 54/938 (John Dunscombe); Cl. R. 18 E., pt. 5, C 54/986 and Cl. R. 18 E., pt. 7, C 54/988 (Henry, Lord Scrope). Gilbert owned in December 1572 a house in Bishopsgate St., London (HCA 24/44, no. 14).

⁴ Document no. 74, p. 241.

⁵ Document no. 103, p. 340.

⁶ See SP 12/158, 50; *GSP Col. America and W.I. 1675 6, with addenda*, no. 39.

Between 1572 and 1577 Gilbert divided his time between Kent, London and Devonshire. He was on a judicial commission in Devonshire 1574-5¹, and he was ordered by the privy council on 9 September 1575 to give up books seized from Portuguese merchants at Dartmouth². Again, in August 1577, he was in Devonshire, probably staying with Sir John Gilbert³, and he was one of the commissioners appointed to supervise the building of a harbour at Seaton on 22 December 1577⁴. During the winter of 1575-6 the poet George Gascoigne found him 'at his house in Limehowse, and beeing verie bolde to demaunde of him howe he spent his time in this loytering vacation from martiall stratagemes, he curteously tooke me up into his Studie, and there shewed me sundrie profitable and verie commendable exercises, which he had perfected painefully with his owne penne'⁵.

One of these 'exercises' was probably the report on Ireland, dated 1 February 1574, already mentioned. Another would have been the work entitled 'The creation of an Achademy in London for educacion of her Majestes Wardes and others the youth of nobility and gentlemen'⁶, probably composed between 1572 and 1576. This is, perhaps, the most remarkable project which Gilbert ever set down, and it is the only one which had little possibility of bringing him in a financial profit. Although it is based on a criticism of the way in which the wards of the Crown were educated, it is in effect a scheme for a third university, a

¹ He was amongst the justices entertained by Plymouth. Plymouth Receiver's Accounts, September 1574-September 1575. He stated in November 1578 that he was a Justice of the Peace. See pp. 204, 207 below.

² *APC* 1575-7, pp. 21-2.

³ 12 August 1577. William Penkevill to William Carnsewe. SP 46/71. Between 1578 and 1583 he is often styled Sir Humphrey Gilbert of Compton. Compton Castle, which belonged to Sir John Gilbert, was one of the chief seats of the family. See Documents nos. 20, 83, 84, 86, 88, 90, 102, 104.

⁴ *APC* 1577-8, p. 122.

⁵ Document no. 15, pp. 131-2.

⁶ BM, Lans. MS. 98, ff. 2-7v. The body of the document is not in Gilbert's hand, but an insertion on f. 6v is probably written by him. It is endorsed 'Sir Humfrey Gilbert for an Academy of ye Wardes'. It is printed in *Archaeologia*, XXI (1827), 506-20, and in *Early English Text Soc.* [Pubns.], extra series, VIII (1869), 1-12. On the document see Gosling, pp. 110-19; Tenison, *Elizabethan England*, II, 209 seq.

function already partly performed by the Inns of Court. Its main thesis was that the schools and the older universities concentrated too much on book-learning of an unpractical sort and made no attempt to equip the nobility and gentry, 'to whom it chiefly pertaineth to have the managing of matters of estate and policy', for 'matters of action meet for present practize'. It stressed throughout the practical application of the subjects to be taught and strongly emphasized the need for some scientific training. Oratory was to be taught so as to give the students an adequate command of language, and the lecturer in moral philosophy was to concern himself with civil and military policy. The professor of geometry was to teach the theory and practice of artillery and the professor of mathematics navigation, with astronomy and the use of nautical instruments. He was also to give instruction on rigging from a ship's model¹. The doctor of 'Physic' was to teach practical chemistry, medicine and surgery, and a lawyer as much law as was necessary to exercise such offices as that of justice of the peace. Modern languages, horsemanship, 'martial exercises', dancing, music and heraldry were to help to equip the students as gentlemen, and the older studies, Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Divinity were not forgotten. The library of the institution was to be stocked by the compulsory delivery of a copy of every publication, and the lecturers were to publish, regularly, monographs on their researches. The financial burden of the project is worked out in detail and is estimated at £2,966 13s. 4d. a year. The plan reflects most clearly the new society that was coming into being and the needs of those groups—nobility, landowners and merchants—who were becoming conscious of their desire to run it, for an education that would fit them for practical experience in government, war, navigation and commerce.

¹ The establishment of a lectureship in navigation was one of the pre-occupations of those interested in overseas expansion throughout the Elizabethan period. See Taylor, *Hakluyts*, pp. 23-5, and *Tudor geography* 1485-1583, *passim*.

5. A DISCOURSE OF A DISCOVERIE FOR A NEW PASSAGE TO CATAIA

Amongst the other 'exercises' which Gascoigne was shown was probably that treatise on navigation of which Gilbert—still a dry-land sailor—had spoken in the 'Discourse' of 1566. The 'Discourse' itself Gilbert had added to a little since his return from Ireland, and this Gascoigne borrowed and published in 1576.

No evidence has been discovered to define precisely the time and the circumstances in which Gilbert revived his active interest in overseas expansion. On the strength of an endorsement on a petition to the Queen, dated 22 March 1574¹, Gilbert has been, in the past, considered to have had some part in Richard Grenville's project for a colony² in South America or 'Terra Australis Incognita', but this is now generally doubted³. The only link known to exist between Gilbert and Grenville's associates is that provided by Gilbert's uncle, Sir Arthur Champernown, Vice-admiral of Devonshire, and partner with him in Irish plantation schemes 1567-72⁴.

By 1574 Frobisher and Michael Lok had taken up with the Muscovy Company a new project for the discovery of the North-west Passage and Gilbert became associated with Lok about Easter 1575, after permission had been obtained from the

¹ SP 12/95, 63, printed by Slafter, pp. 221-2. The endorsements are '22 Marcii [1]573 a supplication of certen gentlemen in ye west partes for a newe navigacon. [Other hand] Sir Humfrey Gilbert Sir Georg Peckham Mr Carlile and Sir Ri: Grenville and others Voiages'.

² e.g. Gosling, pp. 120-3.

³ See R. Pease Chope, 'New light on Grenville', in *Trans. Devonshire Association*, XLIX (1917), 210-82; Bushnell, *Grenville*, pp. 82-95; Rowse, *Grenville*, pp. 83-112; Williamson, *Age of Drake*, pp. 150-3, 157-9, 167-8.

⁴ The argument against accepting the endorsement may be summarized as follows: (a) Grenville was not knighted until 1577, (b) Peckham is not known to have been associated with Gilbert before 1578 or Carleill before 1582-3, (c) none of those named in the endorsement except Grenville appears in the draft patent for a southern colony (SP 12/235, 1), although several of those mentioned there (e.g. Edmund Tremayne) were known to Gilbert, and William Hawkins adventured in his expedition of 1578 (p. 333 below). On the other hand Gilbert himself asserted to the French ambassador that, in 1578, his objective was a southern colony. Document no. 30, p. 195.

Muscovy Company to make a voyage¹. According to his own account², Lok had discussions with Gilbert on the passage after this time, but, being a devotee of the project of some years' standing, found that he had little information to gain from Gilbert. Gascoigne's visit to Gilbert in the following winter had some connection with Frobisher's project, and he says himself that he was a relative of Frobisher³. He possibly came to solicit subscriptions, but left with the manuscript of the 'Discourse' which he published, ostensibly without Gilbert's permission⁴, with a preface dated 12 April 1576⁵.

The published *Discourse* was substantially that of 1566. A few minor notes and alterations may have been made by Gascoigne⁶, but Gilbert's main addition was his story of Urdaneta's alleged voyage through the North-west Passage from the Pacific to Germany⁷. In 1568 he had met in Ireland a Spanish gentleman called Salvaterra who had said that about eight years before (i.e. about 1560) Urdaneta had told him of this voyage. He also declared that Urdaneta had shown him 'a Sea Carde made by his owne experience, and travel, in that voyage', which corresponded with Ortelius' map. Urdaneta was said to have been warned by the king of Portugal not to publish any information on his voyage, as it would enable the English to hinder Spain and Portugal. Salvaterra asserted his willingness to accompany Gilbert in a search for Urdaneta's passage. There is no need to doubt Gilbert's account, but his Spanish informant had picked up a garbled story, for in 1560 or 1561 Urdaneta, instead of being engaged on a voyage through the north-

¹ Dr. J. A. Williamson is inclined to accept the theory that Gilbert had encountered Frobisher in Ireland, before 1570 (*Age of Drake*, pp. 153-4). Professor Vilhjalmur Stefansson (*Three voyages of Martin Frobisher*, pp. xcvi-ciii) rejects it. The earliest reference to Frobisher in Ireland which has been found is dated 4 December 1572 (*CSP Ir.* 1515-74, p. 489).

² Document no. 16, p. 166.

³ p. 132 below.

⁴ Lok, writing in 1577, implies that Gilbert had the 'Discourse' 'put into prynt' himself, p. 166.

⁵ It appeared, according to Lok, in May, p. 166.

⁶ Such as the reference to the Ortelius map of 1569, not 1564 (p. 139 and see p. 135, n. 1), and the marginal note (p. 140) that Cecil had become Lord Burghley.

⁷ pp. 154-5. Minor references on p. 156 and p. 162.

west passage, was occupied in explaining to Philip II that he believed certain Frenchmen had discovered a passage through America at 27° N., which had brought them to the Pacific between 40 and 50° N. The form of Salvaterra's story may, however, have been influenced by Urdaneta's successful voyage to the Philippines in 1565, and his return to Spain, by way of America, in 1566¹.

Gilbert's *Discourse* was an advertisement for Frobisher's Company of Cathay, whether he intended so or not, but he apparently had little to do with the Company subsequently. Burghley entered his name on a list of members or potential members of the Company in the spring of 1576², but he did not subscribe to the first two voyages. He promised to put up £25 for the third venture in 1578, but never paid his subscription³. The *Discourse*, however, attracted some interest and, besides Lok, brought Gilbert to the attention of Thomas Churchyard⁴, Edward Dyer and John Dee⁵. It is likely that the activities of the Company of Cathay cured him of any desire to attempt the north-west passage, although he probably continued to believe in its existence. There is no evidence after 1577 that he contemplated any expedition to America above 50° N. Frobisher's voyages and the underground preparations for Drake's expedition were, however, a spur to action in other directions.

6. AGAINST THE KING OF SPAIN

The first information that Gilbert was contemplating an American voyage comes in a letter of 23 August 1577 from Henry Killegrew to William Davison⁶. Coastal raids on the Spanish towns on the Caribbean coast had been going on steadily since Drake's venture of 1572-3⁷. In April 1576 John Oxenham set out with a small expedition and with the ambitious purpose of making the Panama isthmus a land base for the plunder of Spanish shipping in the Pacific. The spring and

¹ Wagner, *Spanish voyages to the northwest coast of America*, pp. 125-7, 361.

² CSP Col. E. I. *China and Japan* 1513-1616, no. 31, SP 12/110, 22.

³ *Ibid.*, nos. 48, 54, SP 12/119, 44-5.

⁴ Document no. 18, p. 168.

⁵ Document no. 17, pp. 166-7.

⁶ Document no. 20, p. 169.

⁷ Williamson, *Harcourt*, pp. 296-302; *Age of Drake*, pp. 128-32.

summer of 1577 saw the preparation of an expedition to be led by Drake with the encouragement and co-operation of the principal members of the Privy Council. First intended for discovery of 'Terra Australis Incognita' in the Pacific, the project became, with the Queen's blessing, one for the plunder of Peru from the Pacific. Great secrecy surrounded the preparation of the expedition¹. Killebrew writing towards the end of August was of the opinion that Drake had already set out some months before, although at this time he was still fitting out at Plymouth and did not make his first attempt to leave until November. The elements at court which favoured an offensive against Spain were in the ascendant and Gilbert was apparently anxious to make capital out of the aggressive movement. Killebrew tells us, firstly, that Gilbert had shipping ready in Devonshire² and, secondly, that it was thought that he was going to relieve 'one oxenden', who was in Peru with captured treasure, but had no shipping to bring it home. With regard to the former, this is the first indication that Gilbert had any intention of making a sea voyage, and with regard to the latter, it is clear that Killebrew had important information which has not hitherto been discussed³. Oxenham had crossed

¹ Williamson, *Age of Drake*, pp. 166-74.

² Gilbert was undoubtedly in Devonshire in August 1577. Letter of 12 August, cited above, p. 27.

³ Dr. J. A. Williamson (*Age of Drake*, pp. 133-44) discusses the Oxenham expedition on the basis of the Spanish account printed in Hakluyt and the Spanish documents printed by Miss I. Wright in *Docs. concerning English voyages to the Spanish Main, 1569-80* (Hakluyt Soc. 1932). He says (p. 143) that there is no mention of the Oxenham venture in English records. This passes over Killebrew's letter. There are also minor references in the Plymouth Municipal Records. In the 'Widely Court Book' of Receivers' Accounts, under 1576-7, f. 33, is the following: 'William Wyll, otherwise Fernwoth owes at this accompt to the town iiii li. xs. due by him for the dett of John Wylles of Bodmyn in respect of the one moitie of his adventure with John Oxenham to be paid by him to the now receiver and he to yield his accompt thereof at the next audit. Per me William Wyll - iiii li. xs. Paid in the majority of George Maynarde.' Under 1577-8 (f. 34) is the further entry: 'Item received of William Wyll alias Ferneworthy for debt owing by him from the ending of the last accompt for a quarter part of John Willes adventure with John Oxenham as in the respite of the same account appeareth - iiii li. xs.' These items tell us a little of the financing of the expedition—that part at least of the money was put up by private speculators, but that the town of Plymouth was also involved. William Wyll may have been

the Panama isthmus, having lost much of his shipping at the end of 1576 and, early in 1577, after building a pinnace, captured a great quantity of treasure on the Pacific coast of central America. In March the Spaniards succeeded in discovering his hidden pinnaces on the Caribbean coast and drove him and his party, after re-capturing the treasure, into the interior of the isthmus. By August Killegrew had heard something of this. How he had learnt that Oxenham was cut off with treasure for which he had no shipping will probably remain a mystery, but Oxenham must have made contact with some of the corsairs operating in the Caribbean who brought the tale to England. By the time Killegrew wrote, however, Oxenham and almost all his party had been captured by the Spaniards.

The Panama project, if Gilbert was really concerned in it, came to nothing, but Gilbert had other plans on hand during the summer and autumn of 1577. Edward Dyer brought the *Discourse* to Dee's attention in 1576 and Dee, who was acting as adviser to the Company of Cathay, annotated and criticised his copy in detail and was stimulated to prepare a series of articles of his own on the North-west Passage¹. While it is possible that Gilbert encountered Dee in the discussions on the Company of Cathay, which the latter attended, it is more probable that they did not become personally acquainted until 1577. The first reference to Gilbert appears in Dee's 'Diary' on 26 May 1577², and he may have come to visit Dee on that occasion to consult him on his various projects. He visited Dee again on 6 November³, and on the same day dated a series of proposals to the Queen⁴, which he may have worked out with Dee's assistance. They are uncompromising expressions of the opinion that Spain must be attacked speedily and effectively, and supply an Atlantic counterpart to the objectives of Drake in the Pacific, at a time when Drake was on the point of departure and when feeling at court was strongly in favour of direct action against the Spanish empire. The proposals consist of

acting as treasurer for the expedition and the town of Plymouth as its banker.

¹ Document no. 17, pp. 166-7.

² Document no. 19, p. 167.

³ Document no. 21, p. 170.

⁴ Documents nos. 22, 23, pp. 170-80.

two interlocking projects. The first of these was for the seizure of the fishing fleets of Spain, Portugal and France during the fishing season at Newfoundland, by an expedition which Gilbert proposed to fit out. This might be done, as circumstances permitted, either without any subterfuge or under the cloak of a Machiavellian device which he describes. A patent might be given to him to discover and colonise some strange place, and the expedition to Newfoundland could be organised in virtue of it. When the attack had taken place the expedition could, if necessary, be disavowed, and hide its captures on the Netherlands coast or in England, under the protection of some Vice-admiral, while the fish was being disposed of. The justification which he gave was that it would weaken the commerce and naval power of the countries hostile to England. The second project was to be taken up when the fishing fleet had been captured. Another expedition, also ostensibly designed for a colony on 'St. Lawrence Island', the late discovered Contries in the North, or elsewhere', was to join the successful pirates for a grand assault on the West Indies. The fleet was to waylay the Spanish *galleones*, using Bermuda as a base, before they made the open Atlantic on the way to Spain. It was then to proceed to capture and occupy the islands of Santo Domingo and Cuba, and thus establish an English colony in the West Indies and fortify adequate bases for the destruction of the Spanish power on the mainland.

In these documents there is, throughout, the assumption that a struggle with the Spanish empire is inevitable. The seizure of the fishing fleets would weaken her mercantile marine, the capture of the treasure fleet would cripple her resources and the conquest of the islands would be the first stage in the destruction of her empire. The latter was also intended as a bait to the powerful English commercial interests engaged in the Iberian trade, which were hostile to a breach with Spain. They were told that, although they would lose their trade with Spain, they would re-create it in commerce with the captured West Indian islands. As it stood, however, it was too ambitious for the Queen, who was already sponsoring Drake and helping

¹ Probably Anticosti.

Frobisher with money. In these documents Gilbert shows a good working knowledge of Newfoundland and the West Indies. He may have already been associated with James Ranse, who was master of the *Elephant* in 1578, and who had been in the West Indies with Drake in 1572¹.

7. THE FIRST EXPEDITION

The letters patent, granted to Gilbert on 11 June 1578², indicate that he had received royal permission to make some specific expedition, but their contents were vague enough as to its destination. He was empowered for six years 'to discover searche finde out and viewe such remote heathen and barbarous landes countries and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people as to him . . . shall seme good And the same to have hould occupie and enjoye to him his heires and assignes forever'. But if he did any act of hostility by sea or land to the subjects of any ruler in amity with England, he was, on complaint made, to be ordered to make restitution and, if he did not do so he was to be 'put out of our allegiaunce and proteccion'. This is closely reminiscent of the project of 6 November which, if it was not to be done by open hostility, was to be attempted 'by some colorable meanes; as by geving of lycence under lettres patentes to discover and inhabyte some strange place, with speciall proviso for their safetyes whome pollisy requyreth to have most annoyed by which meanes the doing of the contrarie shalbe imputed to the executors fawlt; your hignes lettres patentes being a manyfest shewe that it was not your Majestes pleasure so to have it'³. The only hint of a specific project is given in the reference 'nowe in this jorney for discovery or in the seconde jorney for conquest', which implied

¹ Williamson, *Age of Drake*, 122-3; p. 198, below. Professor Taylor suggests that certain passages indicate the influence of Dee, which is probable, and of the younger Hakluyt on Gilbert (*Hakluyts*, pp. 12-13). If Gilbert had made contact with Hakluyt by 1577 he may have obtained his information on Newfoundland from Anthony Parkhurst, who in 1578 estimated the tonnage of Spanish, Portuguese and French shipping on the Banks as some 7,000, comprising over 300 ships. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-9.

² Document no. 28, pp. 188-94.

³ Document no. 22, p. 171.

that the expedition prepared for 1578 was not to be concerned immediately with settlement but rather with exploration.

If we set aside the possibilities of subterfuge, however, the remaining clauses of the patent provided an adequate legal basis for the foundation of a genuine colony of settlement. The grant was to last six years, and, if any settlement was made, Gilbert was to have power to expel intruders who should attempt to plant within 200 leagues of it in any direction. The territories occupied were to be held by homage from the Crown, paying royalties on all gold and silver discovered. Gilbert was to have power to possess territories discovered and to grant tenures to those colonists who were to be licensed to leave England. He was to exercise jurisdiction on land and by sea, and to make laws for the colony, 'agreeable to the forme of the lawes and pollicies of England.' Necessities were to be exported to the colony under licence from the Lord Treasurer and four members of the Privy Council.

The 'Notes framed by a Gentleman heretofore to bee given to one that prepared for a discoverie, and went not', printed by Hakluyt in 1582, and assigned to Richard Hakluyt, lawyer, have been usually associated with Gilbert's expedition. A copy is said to have been sent with a member of Frobisher's third expedition which left England on 31 May 1578, but the notes are clearly designed for a colony in latitudes 35-40°, and it is at least a plausible assumption that they were connected with Gilbert¹. They offered a good deal of sensible advice on establishing a colony, and assumed that a site would be occupied in the early part of the year, which could be re-victualled the following winter². If they are, in fact, connected with Gilbert they suggest that he intended to establish a colony on the American coast, sufficiently far away from the Spanish outposts in Florida, and situated between Cape Hatteras and the mouth of the Hudson.

Also associated with Gilbert by circumstantial evidence are two letters from Anthony Parkhurst of Bristol. He is almost certainly the 'Anthony Packhurst Esquire' who was associated

¹ Document no 24, pp. 181-6. See Taylor, *Hakluyts*, 13-15, 116-22.

² pp. 185-6 below.

with Gilbert 1582-3¹. The first letter, printed for the first time by Professor Taylor², is not dated or addressed. Professor Taylor thinks it may have been addressed to Edward Dyer and assigns it to 1577-8. It is an account of the Newfoundland fishing and of the advantages to be gained by colonising the island, which he might well have sent to Gilbert in 1577. The second, dated 13 November 1578, is addressed to Richard Hakluyt, lawyer, in answer to a request from him to furnish information on Newfoundland for a friend of his. It contains a more detailed survey of the natural resources of Newfoundland and of the possibilities of colonisation. Parkhurst also expressed his willingness to undertake a voyage to explore the coasts of Cape Breton and the St. Lawrence³. The main drawback in connecting this with Gilbert is the date, for Gilbert expected to leave at least as early as August, and it was only by a series of accidents that he was in England as late as 13 November. However, a possible explanation is that Parkhurst had only returned from Newfoundland at the beginning of November. While it is very unlikely that Gilbert intended to go to Newfoundland in 1578, yet that does not eliminate the possibility of a connection between him and this letter, because he was sufficiently interested in Newfoundland to want to collect information on it, and possibly hoped to work northwards to it on his homeward journey. At the same time the connection of either of these documents with Gilbert cannot be considered proved.

Gilbert, whatever the reception given to his memorials of November 1577, was determined to engage on an expedition of some sort during 1578, and had ships prepared during the spring. He observed the utmost secrecy about his objective from the beginning and it is not possible to envisage clearly

¹ Document no. 100, p. 329.

² *Hakluyts*, pp. 123-7, and see pp. 14-15.

³ Printed by Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1589), pp. 674-7; III (1600), 132-4; reprinted by Taylor, *Hakluyts*, pp. 127-34. A 'Master Butler' is mentioned by Parkhurst as inspiring him to write of Newfoundland at length. Professor Taylor identifies him with Michael Butler, captain of the *Bark Raleigh* in 1583 (*ibid.*, p. 133). A more plausible identification is with Benjamin Butler, a passenger in the *Gallion* in 1578. Document no. 46, p. 212.

what he intended. Newfoundland, Anticosti, Santo Domingo, Cuba, or even Peru, might suggest themselves after the indications given in 1577. The Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, remained convinced throughout that Gilbert, whatever his pretensions, intended to go to the West Indies¹, and the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Lincoln, on 9 October said of the expedition that it had gone 'to seke a voyage into ye Indya'². There are also other indications that a voyage to low latitudes was intended and, in fact, attempted³. Gilbert's only mention of his destination before his departure was to the French ambassador, Castelnau de la Mauvissière, whom he told early in July⁴ that he intended to go to the region round about 45-50° S., apparently 'Terra Australis Incognita', and establish a colony. Castelnau was to inform the Marquis de la Roche that if he and Gilbert encountered each other in southern latitudes they should come to some amicable arrangement and not compete with each other. All the indications are, however, in favour of this being a bluff on Gilbert's part⁵.

If, in 1583, Edward Hayes considered June rather late to commence a voyage to Newfoundland⁶, it seems reasonably clear that, when Gilbert told Walsingham and the Earl of Sussex at the end of September 1578⁷ that 'the time and season of the

¹ Documents nos. 25, 26 (mentioning an unidentified Santa Genela), 27, pp. 186-8.

² Document no. 39, p. 201.

³ pp. 45-6 below.

⁴ Documents nos. 30, 31, pp. 195-7.

⁵ Troilus de Mesgouez, Sieur de Kermoalec and Marquis de la Roche, and his activities were a matter of continuous concern to English agents in France, 1577-9. As early as 22 June 1577 Paulet reported that he was preparing an expedition ostensibly for Florida. O. Ogle (ed.), *Copy book of letters written by Sir Amias Paulet during his embassy to France (A.D. 1577)*, (Roxburghe Club, 1866), pp. 38-9. On 3 January 1578 he received a commission as 'vice-roi des nouvelles terres', (Anthiaume, *Cartes marines*, II, 45, and see H. P. Biggar, *Early trading companies of New France*, pp. 38-9), and on 7 July it was reported that he had attempted to set out for Newfoundland in a ship of 300 tons, but that his ship had been damaged in an attempt to rob four English ships. *CSP For.* 1578-9, no. 71. He continued to prepare ships for an expedition and his objective was said to be, from time to time, Africa, the Indies, the Low Countries, Scotland, and Ireland. *CSP For.* 1577-8 and *CSP For.* 1578-9, *passim*. Eventually he joined James Fitzmaurice in 1579. See R. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, III, 3-12.

⁶ Document no. 124, p. 392.

⁷ Documents nos. 36, 37, pp. 199-201.

yere will serve yet verie aptely for our travells', he was not intending to proceed to Newfoundland. Dr. Williamson says 'The season of sailing really suggests that Gilbert was contemplating a southward voyage'¹, and it seems likely that Gilbert intended to make the American coast at least as far south as Florida, and then possibly work northwards, as was the original scheme in 1583², if he intended to decide on a site for a colony. There is, at least, no suggestion of any attempt to find the North-west Passage, and the absence of any negotiations with the Muscovy Company seems to indicate an objective fairly far to the south. The only person who seems to have been convinced that Gilbert was going to a latitude as far north as Newfoundland was John Dee, who, in August, put his intended destination as Hochelaga³, far up the St. Lawrence, but it is unlikely that Dee was to any extent in Gilbert's confidence.

The preparation of the expedition in the early spring and summer of 1578 can be followed only obscurely. On 8 May Mendoza referred to a previous letter, apparently not extant, in which he had reported the preparation of an expedition by ships properly equipped for a discovery. He now reported a second expedition, which was being prepared by someone whom Mendoza calls 'Estuquel' or 'Stuquel', who has not been identified, also ostensibly designed for a discovery, but, he believed, intended for the West Indies⁴. Eight days later he asserted that Gilbert⁵ had prepared four ships for a voyage to go to 'Santa Genela', and on 3 June he wrote that Gilbert intended to co-operate with 'Stuquel' in an attack on the Indies⁶. He was said to have enlisted the services of a Portuguese pilot, Simon Fernandez, who was well acquainted with the Indies route. By 13 June he had news that Captain William Cox of Limehouse, who had just struggled home with the remnants of Andrew Barker's expedition to the West Indies, was anxious

¹ *Hawkins*, p. 396. See too *Age of Drake*, pp. 199-200.

² See pp. 84, 392 below.

³ Document no. 34, p. 198.

⁴ Document no. 25, p. 186.

⁵ Document no. 26, p. 187. Gilbert is described as the son of Sir Francis Knollys, obviously derived from a garbled account of Gilbert's association with Henry Knollys, son of Sir Francis.

⁶ Document no. 27, pp. 187-8.

to accompany Gilbert¹, although he does not appear to have done so. By July the French ambassador could report that Gilbert's fleet amounted to ten or twelve ships, and proposed to send some men with him to report on the voyage². Mendoza was also thinking about spies, and on 14 August announced that he had hired an Englishman to act for him³.

Gilbert clearly intended to leave during the summer, but it was not until 25 August that certain of his ships came round from London to Dartmouth⁴, where he was attempting to assemble the expedition. Henry Knollys, Gilbert's principal associate, came in the *Francis* from Bristol, touched at Plymouth and joined Gilbert at Dartmouth on 10 September, two days after Gilbert had had some of his stores stolen⁵. On 23 September Gilbert had eleven sail, with 500 men, ready to depart⁶ and set out on 26 September⁷ from Dartmouth. The fleet, however, met with contrary winds and was driven back up the Channel. Gilbert himself, in the *Anne Aucher*, was driven as far as the Isle of Wight. His fleet re-assembled during the next fortnight at Dartmouth and Gilbert was able to rejoin it on 10 October⁸ and move on to Plymouth on 15 October. Another attempt to set out was made on 29 October and was unsuccessful⁹. By 5 November friction had so far developed in the fleet that Henry Knollys decided to break with Gilbert¹⁰. Ultimately, Knollys left on 18 November with three ships, and Gilbert on 19 November with seven. Captain Sharpham and Mr. Fortescue were also said to be preparing five ships at Plymouth, but nothing is known of their purpose or performance¹¹.

The men whom Gilbert induced to accompany him were a very mixed brood, many of them pirates, and their preparations alarmed the Privy Council. On 11 July orders were issued to stop

¹ Document no. 29, p. 194. For Barker, see Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, x (1904), pp. 83-7; Williamson, *Age of Drake*, pp. 131-2. A William Cox, who may have been the same man, acted as master of the royal ship *Dreadnought* between 16 June and 10 July 1578. E 351/2214.

² Documents nos. 30, 31, pp. 195-7.

³ Document no. 35, p. 199.

⁴ Documents, nos. 36, 37, 46, pp. 199-200, 213.

⁵ Documents nos. 47, 69, pp. 213, 233.

⁶ Documents nos. 36, 37, pp. 209-13.

⁷ Document no. 46, p. 213.

⁸ Documents nos. 41, 46, pp. 201, 213.

⁹ Document no. 46, p. 213.

¹⁰ Document no. 44, pp. 203-9.

¹¹ Documents nos. 45, 46, p. 210.

the gentlemen who were preparing ships in a warlike manner in Devon and Cornwall and also in Monmouth and Pembroke¹. On 3 May a licence was issued to Sir William Morgan to go beyond the seas², but he was specified on 11 July as one of those who were to be stopped. He subscribed, however, to Gilbert's expedition³. Certain of the ships which were to accompany Gilbert were also attracting the attention of the Commissioners for Piracy for the eastern part of Glamorgan for they reported, as 'rigged forth of Pennarth in warlike manner', the ship *Elephant*, John Callis captain, James Ranse master, which was later Knolly's flagship, and a bark, Simon Ferdinando captain and master⁴. This was almost certainly the Portuguese pilot mentioned by Mendoza in June and the 'Ferdinando the Portugale', who was master of the *Falcon* under Raleigh when the expedition sailed in November⁵. The commissioners mentioned that Simon Fernandez had been in gaol some time previously in Glamorgan. John Callis was a well-known pirate⁶. About midsummer Knollys with the *Elephant*, after she had come from Penarth, went out on a raid and succeeded in capturing the notorious pirate Robert Holbourne, and brought him, with a French prize and a man-of-war loaded with plunder, into Plymouth. He released Holbourne, to Gilbert's disgust, and may have kept his prizes⁷, for the rather obscure letter from the Earl of Lincoln to Burghley on 9 October fulminates against those who presume to dispose of pirates' goods, which appertain to the Crown, and refers to Gilbert and, by presumption, to Knollys⁸. Knollys also got into trouble with the authorities at Plymouth for refusing to deliver up two men of his company

¹ *APC* 1575-7, pp. 382-4.

² 'Sir William Morgan knight for [blank] yeres & to carie with him [blank] servantes: iii Maii 1578,' Exch. K.R., Licences to go beyond the sea, E 157/1, f. 2v.

³ Document no. 100, p. 332.

⁴ Document no. 33, p. 198.

⁵ Document no. 46, p. 211.

⁶ Loveles and Callis were among the 'store of notorious evill men' whom Gilbert mentioned as being with Knollys. Document no. 42, p. 205. SP 12/135, pp. 245, 333, 336 also mentions the piratical activities of Callis.

⁷ Document no. 42, p. 204, and Deposition of Thomas Sutton, 30 April 1579, HCA 1/40.

⁸ Document no. 39, pp. 201-2.

who were accused of murder. He exasperated Gilbert by his refusal to take orders from him and by his quarrels with Miles Morgan and others, so that the breach between the two in November was almost inevitable¹. Edward Denye, captain of the *Bark Denye*, whom Gilbert describes as 'my cosen', had also been recently involved in piracy², and he too quarrelled with Gilbert at Plymouth. He joined Knollys when the latter broke with Gilbert³.

Knollys, when he left on 18 November, had with him the *Elephant*, the *Bark Denye* and the *Francis* (*alias* the *Armyn*), with 53 guns and 161 men. The vessels made for Ireland, taking a Breton ship *en route* and disposing of its goods in Cork and Durgarvan⁴. No attempt seems to have been made to proceed on a transatlantic voyage, and the *Francis* and apparently the *Elephant* returned to English waters. It is not clear what happened to the *Bark Denye*. Knollys had sailed from Ireland in the *Francis* and disembarked from her at the Isle of Wight. There he was joined by his brother Francis, who had presumably come on the *Elephant*⁵, and had possibly brought with him, as a prize, a ship of which Martyn Martyne of Flushing was master⁶. This was about the end of January or early in February, and is probably the basis for the report made by Mendoza on 26 February that Gilbert and Knollys had returned with a French prize and had disarmed their ships. Knollys, who was probably going to the Court⁷, sent the *Francis*, with Gregory Fenton, captain, and Richard Derifall, master, to collect prizes on the Spanish coast. She went as far south as the vicinity of Cape St. Vincent and there took a French ship, the *Margaret*, Stephen Fischott, master, which was carrying goods for Spanish merchants from Havre to San Lucar. They took her to 'the Isles of bayona', and released her after transferring her goods to the *Francis*. The latter then made for 'Torbay, where part of the

¹ Documents nos. 42, 43, 44, pp. 203-9.

² See SP 12/135, p. 113, and a petition of John Calverte to Walsingham, complaining against Denye, whom he describes as 'kyne to youre honour', SP 12/127, 54.

³ Documents nos. 42, 45, pp. 206-7, 210.

⁴ Document no. 53, pp. 219-20.

⁵ Document no. 69, pp. 234-6.

⁶ p. 501 below.

⁷ Document no. 52, p. 219.

spoil was divided among the crew, and communication was made with Knollys, who ordered her to be brought to Guernsey. Knollys met the *Francis* on her arrival and the governor of the castle allowed him to store her arms there. Part of the spoil was sold at Guernsey, but the remainder was brought, about the end of April, to Southampton and was carted from there to New Elm (or Ewelme) House, near Wallingford¹, which belonged to the Queen and of which Knollys' father was the keeper². After his discharge at Southampton, Derifall, the master of the *Francis*, went off in command of his own ship, the *Gift of God*, and was captured with a prize by Sir John Perrot. The Spanish merchants whose goods were taken by Knollys engaged in a protracted series of suits in the Admiralty Court in the hope of getting some compensation for their losses. It appears very unlikely that they did so, but they had at least the satisfaction that Richard Derifall was hanged³, and other members of the crew of the *Francis* imprisoned⁴.

While it is possible to clarify the proceedings of Knollys after he left Plymouth and to show that he had no intention of making a voyage of discovery, it is not possible to follow the activities of Gilbert in the months following his departure. He left Plymouth on 19 November with seven vessels: the *Anne Aucher*, the admiral, with himself in command and Henry Pedly master; the *Hope of Greenway*, Carew Raleigh captain, Jacob Whidon master; the *Falcon*, a royal ship, Walter Raleigh captain, Simon Fernandez master; the *Red Lion*, Miles Morgan captain, John Anthony master; the *Gallion*, Richard Udall captain, Kurt Heykenborow master; the *Swallow*, John Verney master; and the small frigate, the *Squirrel*. The fleet carried some 122 guns and 409 men⁵.

The heavy armament may be significant. Edward Hayes says

¹ Documents nos. 63, 66, 67, 68, 69, and Appendix II, pp. 226-36, 498-509.

² In March 1578 Henry Knollys was granted the reversion of the keeping of the Queen's house of Ewelme, on the death of his father. Privy Seal Docquet Book, Ind. 6743.

³ p. 230, n. 2 below.

⁴ Others followed Knollys' example and committed piracy under cover of letters 'to seeke adventures'. See a case in HCA 1/40 (16 March 1580).

⁵ Document no. 46, pp. 210-13.

that 'the preparation was expected to grow into a puissant fleet, able to encounter a Kings power by sea', and the armament suggests strongly that it was expected to meet with opposition, *i.e.* that the expedition was directed towards latitudes where the Spaniards might be found in force. The expedition was victualled for 'a longe voyage of one whole yere'. On leaving Plymouth the fleet made for Ireland, but the *Hope of Greenway* sprang a leak and returned. As early as 20 December Sir John Gilbert asserted that he had had news that the fleet had put into Irish ports to take in extra supplies', and Mendoza reported on 8 February that the fleet had again returned to Ireland, where it was re-victualling further in order to resume the voyage¹. There is practically no further direct evidence on the expedition, but it may be as well to discount Mendoza's statement of 26 February that Gilbert had arrived back in England². There is no clear evidence that he was in England before April 1579.

Some further evidence may be assembled regarding at least two ships of the fleet. Miles Morgan with the *Red Lion* was said to have been in the company of Knollys' vessels when he seized a French ship, the *Mary*, of which William Malhearbe (or Malerva) was master, early in 1579³. The *Red Lion* was shortly afterwards lost at sea and Morgan was drowned⁴. The Spanish merchants who lost goods on the *Mary* associated Gilbert as well as Morgan with her capture⁵. Of Walter Raleigh and the *Falcon* there are two fragmentary accounts in the 1587 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. The first, written by John Hooker, implies that Raleigh proceeded ahead of Gilbert's ships on the voyage, and that the latter did not join with him as they had arranged. Raleigh, with apparently more than one ship, became involved in a fight at sea and lost many men, returning with his own ships battered and disabled⁶. The second, which may have

¹ Document no. 124, p. 390.

² Document no. 49, pp. 215-6.

³ Document no. 51, p. 219.

⁴ Document no. 52, p. 219.

⁵ Documents nos. 63, 64, 68, 69, pp. 226, 232, 234.

⁶ pp. 226, 390 below. John Ammerideth, one of the passengers in her, apparently escaped, unless he had transferred to another vessel before she was lost. Compare pp. 212, 333 below.

⁷ Document no. 64, pp. 226-7.

⁸ Document no. 70, pp. 236-7.

been written by John Stow, is more explicit. It states that because all Gilbert's ships, for one reason or another, were forced to return to England, Raleigh, with his ship the *Falcon*, decided 'to doo somewhat woorthie honor' and sailed for the West Indies. He ran short of victuals and, having reached the Cape Verde Islands (in latitude 15° N.), had to return. On his way he became involved in sea-fights and tempests, but reached Plymouth safely in May¹.

The second of these accounts indicates that the West Indies venture was purely an afterthought of Raleigh's, probably inspired by the fact that he had as his master a Portuguese who knew the way there, and that Gilbert's objective was somewhat different. The first account, however, implies that Gilbert intended to take a southerly route, although he failed to make contact with Raleigh and had returned before him.

In attempting to reach any conclusion as to Gilbert's objectives we are left with four possibilities: a piratical venture off the European coasts, an attack on the Spanish West Indies, a prospecting voyage to lay the basis of a colony, and a combination of the two last. However clear the evidence is against Knollys, the probabilities are all against the first. Gilbert declared to Walsingham in 1583² 'in my first enterprise I retorned with great losse, because I would not myselfe, nor suffer any of my companye to doe anythinge contrarye to my worde given to her majestie and yourselfe'. This eliminates indiscriminate piracy, but it does not preclude the possibility of a piratical attack on the West Indies, such as he had advocated in 1577. Elizabethan practice differentiated between these two types of activity fairly clearly. The arguments in favour of a purely colonising voyage have already been given and, taken with those for an objective fairly far south and the heavy armament carried, the most plausible solution is that Gilbert intended to establish a colony, but one which would be fairly near to the West Indies and capable of being used as a base against Spain. This would not exclude the probability that part of his fleet was intended for an attack on the West Indies or perhaps on the treasure-fleet, as he had suggested in 1577. In the documents

¹ Document no. 71, pp. 237-8.

² Document no. 102, p. 339.

on the 1583 expedition¹ there is the implication that the voyage then being prepared was intended for the same objectives as that of 1578, but there are significant differences in the methods employed in the preparation of the two expeditions.

Comparatively little information has been found on the organisation and financing of the first voyage. A list of forty-four names of subscribers is given in 1582². It includes Sir John and Adrian Gilbert and their half brothers, Walter and Carew Raleigh, and it is probable that they, with Sir Humphrey, put up a considerable part of the cost. Nine or ten of the remaining forty accompanied Gilbert in 1578, and it is probable that Miles Morgan supplied his own ship. Roger, second Lord North, Sir Edward Horsey, Governor of the Isle of Wight and 'Mr Edmondes of the privie chamber' apparently represent all those in official circles who subscribed. Sir George Peckham and Edward Hayes were to be more prominently concerned with the later expedition. The only other outstanding names which appear are those of William Hawkins and Thomas Smith, Customer of London, who were among the most active speculators of their age. The remainder are gentlemen and merchants, among whom appear two known acquaintances of Gilbert's, Mr. Macwilliam and George Carew of Okington. Although Elizabeth contributed something to Frobisher's expedition there is no evidence that she gave anything to Gilbert. He acknowledged that he owed Walsingham much for his patronage in helping to procure the patent³, and it is probable that he was also under some obligation to the Earl of Sussex⁴.

Towards the end of April 1579 Gilbert's ships were back at Dartmouth, and he was evidently preparing to set out again, when orders were sent by the Privy Council on 26 April 'for revoking of him from his intended journey at the seas for seking of forreyne cuntries', unless he put in sureties for good behaviour⁵. The reason was the amount of trouble there had been through the piracies of his associates. Sir Humphrey and Sir John Gilbert, in letters of 6 and 8 May respectively, repudiated

¹ e.g. Documents nos. 102 and 124, pp. 339-40, 390-1.

² Document no. 100, pp. 332-3.

³ Document no. 36, pp. 199-200.

⁴ Document no. 37, pp. 200-1.

⁵ Document no. 54, p. 220.

responsibility for 'spoils and injuries' said to be done by Sir Humphrey, who said he was already setting out and could not put back without loss. This was, however, apparently a device for gaining time, for he did not leave immediately, and while he remained at Greenway some of his men seized a Spanish ship belonging to Gonzaga de la Villa at Dartmouth, which was loaded with oranges and lemons, and made away with it. Walter Raleigh either arrived from the African coast towards the end of May, or had been back some weeks and had set out again in advance of Gilbert, for he was said to have returned to Dartmouth before 28 May. On that date the Privy Council wrote to Sir John Gilbert to tell him that he had got to do something about having the Spanish ship restored, and required him 'frendlie to advise' Sir Humphrey and Walter Raleigh 'to surcease from proceeding anie further, and to remaine at home and answer such as have been by their companie damaged'¹. A letter of the same day to the Sheriff, Vice-admiral and Justices of the Peace in the county was more peremptory. They were told that they were to prevent any ships putting to sea and to threaten all concerned with 'her Majesties endignacion' if they left. Gilbert, if he could be reached, Walter Raleigh and Edward Eltophe, who had sailed with him in the *Falcon*, were to be particularly warned. Great pains were to be taken to discover the people who stole the Spanish ship². Three days later the same officials and the Commissioners for Piracy were told to make a general inquiry into all piracies committed by persons 'which heretofore pretended to accompanie Sir Humfrey Gilbert, knight, Walter Rawley, Fortescue and others in their voyages', to imprison and take bonds of those particularly suspected and to disperse the mariners to their homes³. By 4 June de Levilia's ship had turned up at Lynn in Norfolk and he was able to recover it. As the oranges and lemons had by this time perished he was allowed to export grain from Devonshire in recompence⁴. Not enough is known of the details of the piracies with which Gilbert was associated to make clear what was his connection with them. At the least it can be said that he showed

¹ Document no. 55, pp. 220-1.

² Document no. 56, pp. 221-2.

³ Document no. 57, pp. 222-3.

⁴ Documents nos. 58, 60, pp. 223-5.

a certain incapacity or unwillingness to prevent his men seizing foreign merchant vessels. The reasons of his men may well have been that they were not well enough fed or paid on Gilbert's ships.

Towards the end of June the authorities, although Gilbert might still be suspected of complicity in piracy, had work for him at sea. James Fitzmaurice, his old enemy in the Munster fighting of 1569, had been attempting for some time to prepare an expedition on the continent for the invasion of Ireland. In June he was at Bilbao ready to set sail with a small force and the English authorities had no ships on the spot to oppose a landing in Ireland. On 20 June Mendoza declared that Sir Humphrey Gilbert had been sent with his ships to seek out Fitzmaurice, and it is possible that he was responsible for the raid on Galicia of which Mendoza had received news at the beginning of September. A prize was said to have been taken off Corunna and a landing made in which a shrine was destroyed and cattle taken¹. He missed Fitzmaurice, however, who landed in Kerry and, before the end of the month, had built a fort at Smerwick². Gilbert evidently proceeded to Ireland and entered the service of the government there about 16 July. On 24 and 29 July he received commissions to act by sea against Fitzmaurice and his adherents³. He had with him the *Anne Aucher* and the frigate the *Squirrel*, which had formed part of his expedition in 1578, and another ship, the *Relief*. Gilbert evidently cruised about the coast for a time, taking a Portuguese ship which was under the protection of Sir Owen O'Sullivan of Bere Haven⁴. He then sent the *Relief* to Youghal where she captured two French ships, probably part of the fleet of the Marquis de la Roche, and remained to protect the town. On 19 August the *Anne Aucher* was moored to protect the town of Kinsale from an invasion by sea and she remained there until 12 October. The frigate was used to maintain communications with England and made several journeys backward and forward⁵. Gilbert probably returned in

¹ Documents nos. 59, 61, 62, 64, pp. 223-5, 227.

² Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, III, 10-12.

³ *CSP Ir.* 1574-85, pp. 175, 177.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 192-3; *Cal. Carew MSS.* 1575-88, p. 185.

⁵ Gilbert to Walsingham, 25 October 1581, *CSP Ir.* 1574-85, p. 326, and see Gosling, pp. 161-5.

her during the latter part of August or September and went to stay at his house at Badlesmere. On 5 October Walsingham wrote to him to say that his ships were no longer required in Ireland and that he was to send someone over to receive them¹. Gilbert, however, was not, he said afterwards, able to go himself as he had entered into bonds on his return not to leave the country, doubtless in connection with piracy charges which were pending, although no further proceedings appear to have been taken against him. As a result, the sailors, after their pay ceased on 16 October, ran away with some of the ships, probably the *Anne Aucher* and the *Relief*, causing him losses which he estimated at £2000². The *Squirrel*, however, he recovered. He was paid £585 17s. 7½d. for his Irish service, which he long maintained was inadequate, and he also attempted, unsuccessfully, to get compensation for the loss of his ships³.

8. NEW PREPARATIONS

Since the autumn of 1566 Sir Humphrey Gilbert had the idea of a colony of settlement as one of his more persistent projects. The patent of 1578 gave him legal permission to attempt to realize it, although the evidence does not prove that he pursued it single-mindedly in 1578 and 1579; but after his return from Ireland in the autumn of 1579 it became a dominating conception with him and remained so until he died in attempting to effect it. Edward Hayes divides his activities between 1579 and 1583 into two periods, the first apparently extending from the beginning of 1580 to the summer of 1581, and the second from 1581 until he sailed on 11 June 1583. Hayes declares that after the failure of his first enterprise he was determined to revive his projects as soon as possible, but that, as he had lost much of his property, 'he granted certaine assignments out of his commission to sundry persons of meane ability, desiring the privilege of his grant, to plant & fortifie in the North parts of America

¹ SP 12/132, 25.

² Gosling, p. 164.

³ Document no. 74, pp. 241-2; *CSP Ir.* 1574-85, pp. 192, 326. £451 13s. 2d. noted as owing to him in July 1582 may have been additional to the £585 17s. 7½d. entered as paid in E 351/230.

about the river of Canada'. The purpose of these assignments was, he says, twofold. On the one hand if the grantees established successful settlements they would be of some value in consolidating his own colony further south and an encouragement to others to assist him. If they failed it would not prejudice him since these regions were generally regarded as useless. On the other hand if any settlement was made by them, under Gilbert's patent, it would give him rights of possession over the lands two hundred leagues north and south of the settlement, and this might be of value, since his patent expired in June 1584 and he might not be able to make a settlement of his own before then¹. Another motive was undoubtedly to raise a little money by disposing of rights which he did not intend to utilize.

The first stage in Gilbert's activities of which we have any record was the preparation of a voyage of reconnaissance to the American coast. For this he enlisted the services of Simon Fernandez, who had been master of the *Falcon* in 1578 and had now entered Walsingham's service. The *Squirrel*, which was probably the only ship he had left, was fitted out at Dartmouth and apparently left before 25 March 1580. On 7 April following Gilbert had to enter into a bond for £500 that Fernandez and his crew should be 'in all his said viadge of good behaviour towarde her Majestes subjectes, and the subjectes of other Princes with whom her Majestye is in league and amitye, and doe not robbe nor spoile canye duringe the said viadge'. The precaution was probably taken on account of the events of 1578-9 and of Fernandez's doubtful past.

The small frigate of some eight tons burden, carrying about eleven men, crossed the Atlantic safely and landed men on the coast. No evidence has been found as to where this landing took place, but it was probably in the latitude of New England. One man who landed was able to report that the inhabitants there lived in round houses, and he brought back 'from the place he discovered' hides of a large animal, which was probably a bison. Gilbert was able to produce him as a witness during the inquiry into the natural resources of America in August and September

¹ Document no. 124, pp. 390-1.

1582, but his identity has not been discovered. Little time can have been spent on land or in charting the coastline, for the vessel arrived back at Dartmouth within three months of her departure, *i.e.* before the end of June. The crossing of the Atlantic in such a small, unaccompanied vessel must rank as a remarkable feat of seamanship¹.

This expedition must have given Gilbert much valuable information, which Fernandez would have also passed on to Walsingham. On 20 November 1580 Fernandez visited John Dee at Mortlake, doubtless to give him an account of the voyage, and he brought with him a chart, which he may have taken to sea with him, and lent it to Dee to have copied. The copy² is that of a map already archaic by 1580, and apparently belonging to the period 1543–61. The most recent commentator on it says it is drawn in the manner of professional cartographers and is not a sea-chart made by a professional pilot. In outline it apparently resembles a world map of 1561 by Bartolomeu Velho (Portuguese), but with a different, corrupt and Italianate nomenclature, so that it seems to be an Italian version of a Portuguese outline³. It is to be hoped that Fernandez had more adequate guides to the North American coasts than this map. He appears to have had no further connection with Gilbert, but he was engaged for the Fenton expedition to the East Indies and was pilot of the *Gallion Leicester* at the muster of that expedition on 1 May 1582⁴. He accompanied Amadas and Barlow to Virginia in 1584.

Gilbert may have had some connection with another expedi-

¹ All the information on the voyage is contained in Documents nos. 72, 94, 96, pp. 239–40, 282, 309.

² BM, Cotton MS. Roll XIII, 48. See p. 239, n. 2 below.

³ See Ganong, 'Crucial maps in the early cartography and place-nomenclature of the Atlantic coast of Canada, VII' in *Proc. & Trans. Royal Soc. of Canada*, series 3, xxix (1935). Section 2, p. 122. Harisse (*Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, pp. 256–7) thought it might be of French origin, derived from Italian and Portuguese sources. Cortesão (*Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses*, II, 264), misreading the inscription, tries to identify it with the later work of an early sixteenth-century cartographer, Fernandez Simão.

⁴ BM, Cotton MS. Appendix XLVII, f. 17. A mutilated letter, prior to 26 February 1582, from Simon Fernandez to Martin Frobisher, is in Cotton MS. Otho E VIII, f. 103.

tion made in 1580, or may have learnt of it shortly after its return, as it was mentioned in the 1582 discussions along with that of Fernandez. John Walker, with a ship's crew, explored some twenty-seven miles up 'the River of Norumbega', and is said to have found a silver mine on a hill near the river. He penetrated seven miles inland and seized and brought back about 300 dry hides which were found in an Indian house. He considered the country excellent for soil and timber. The ship was able to return to England in seventeen days¹.

The only one of the assignments under Gilbert's patent to 'persons of meane ability' on which any information has been found is that to John Dee, and, in view of its comprehensiveness, it is unlikely that any others were made at this stage. On 28 August 1580 Dee noted the beginning of his dealings with Sir Humphrey Gilbert 'for his grant of discovery'². Dee wrote to Gilbert for the rights of discoveries to the north above the fiftieth parallel of latitude. On 10 September Gilbert gave Dee a solemn promise of these rights in the presence of a witness, Stoner, one of Sir John Gilbert's servants, at Gilbert's lodging at 'Jacobi Cookes house in White Crosse strete', and they then had dinner together³. There is no record that this grant was put into writing and no indication of what Dee paid Gilbert. Apparently Dee did not make any attempt to exploit his rights under the grant until the beginning of 1583, but it apparently formed the basis of the later attempts of Adrian Gilbert and John Davis to discover the North-west Passage, which will be dealt with subsequently.

The grant is important as it marked the definite renunciation by Sir Humphrey of any attempts to discover a passage north of 50°, but what precisely it implied can only be shown by the use of the map which Dee prepared for the Queen and presented to her on 3 October 1580⁴. The map includes, above the fiftieth parallel, the strait of Belle Isle and an island representing

¹ The description of the 'River' is that it was about 30 miles wide at the mouth and 25 fathoms deep, without a bar: 27 miles inland it was about 21 miles wide and 18½ fathoms deep. It appeared to continue at the same width for about another 20 miles, as far as they could see.

² Document no. 96, pp. 309-10.

³ Document no. 134, p. 483.

⁴ Document no. 135, p. 483.

⁵ Halliwell, p. 9.

northern Newfoundland, the greater part of the St. Lawrence estuary, including both the banks north and south of Anticosti, and the river almost as far west as 'Hochelay'. This left the greater part of Canada for Dee to exploit. To the north, Labrador does not extend above about $59^{\circ} 40'$, and a passage through clear water is defined for some way westwards, although the remainder of the route is left without any coastline. Ganong's careful description of the map leads him to conclude that it is based on the Mercator map of 1569, although laid down on a different projection, but with careful and learned improvements. He considers that Dee was unlikely to have the knowledge or skill to compile and display the data himself, but that his 'unknown compiler was learned in earlier topography, and of rarely good judgment in his choice of his data'¹. Gilbert was left with an American coastline not intersected by any trans-continental water passages to the Pacific.

Nothing certain is known of the steps which Gilbert took to further his plans during the latter months of 1580 and the early part of 1581. Drake's return in September 1580, with an astoundingly valuable burden of plunder, was followed by a host of schemes for following up his exploit. On 9 January 1581 Mendoza reported a vast fourfold project. Drake was to return to the East Indies; Henry Knollys was to winter with another fleet in the region of the strait of Magellan and join Drake in the Moluccas after having plundered as much as possible; Sir Humphrey Gilbert was intended to go with six ships to Cuba and establish a base there in order to be able to raid the treasure fleets; while Frobisher was to be induced to renew his attempt on the North-west Passage in order to link up with Drake by that route². It is certain that such comprehensive strategical schemes were being planned by those who were prepared for open war with Spain, and it is likely that Gilbert's West Indian scheme was revived in these discussions; but there is no evidence that he made any preparations to put it into effect. Elizabeth vetoed further expeditions to the Far East by way of the Pacific for the

¹ 'Crucial maps, IX', in *Proc. & Trans. Royal Soc. of Canada*, series 3, xxxi. Section 2, pp. 113-6. A copy of part of the map is reproduced facing p. 239 below.

² Document no. 73, pp. 240-1.

time being, and diverted Knollys to the command of an expedition to help Dom Antonio in the Azores¹. The rest of the protagonists were ordered to concentrate on an expedition to the Far East by way of the Cape, and this finally sailed under Fenton in May 1582².

In the spring of 1581 Gilbert appears as a member of parliament. There is no record of his appearance in the earlier sessions of the parliament of 1572-81, which were held in 1572 and 1576, but he was present during the session which began on 16 January and ended on 18 March 1581. It is not known for what constituency he had been returned³, but he was named as a member of committees, appointed on 28 January and 2 March respectively, for reviewing bills relating to the Statutes of the Staple and the Merchant Adventurers⁴.

If we accept Hayes' statement that Sir George Peckham and others spent two years in preparations to assist Gilbert before he sailed in June 1583⁵, we must put the beginning of the second phase of Gilbert's activities in pursuit of his American colony as the summer of 1581, although the other evidence suggests that it was not until the spring of 1582 that he began to make any preparations for a new expedition to America. In July 1581 he wrote to Walsingham to try to get paid for his Irish services and pleaded the most abject poverty, saying he was 'nowe subjecte to daylye arestes, executions, and owrlawreis; yea and forside to gadge and sell my wyffes clothes from her backe⁶'. In his letter of 25 October 1581 he is less grovelling, but he maintains that unless he is paid even the small sum allowed to him

¹ He set out in October 1581, SP 12/156, 40. See also Santarem, *Quadro elementar*, xvi, 170-7.

² See Williamson, *Age of Drake*, pp. 211-5, and Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake's voyage round the world*, pp. 215 seq.

³ He is not mentioned in the official *Return of the name of every member of the lower house*. A typescript list of addenda to this, in the Institute of Historical Research, includes the name of 'Humphrey Wyll knight' as returned in a by-election for the borough of Queenborough, Kent. This may possibly be a mistake for Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

⁴ *Commons journals*, I, 120, 130; D'Ewes, *Journals*, p. 289. Gilbert's membership of this parliament was first pointed out by W. D. Pink in *Notes and Queries*, series 9, XII (1903), 425-6.

⁵ Document no. 124, p. 391.

⁶ Document no. 74, pp. 241-2.

by the auditor 'I should be utterly undone, not able to shewe my hedd for debts'¹. That he was in considerable straits for money is indicated by the fact that before this time he had been issuing licences to various persons to transport victuals out of England. The Privy Council, considering this matter on 22 October, recorded that he had done so under his patent of 1578, but that this only gave him power to export victuals 'to such contryes which he should conquer and inhabite'. As his intended voyages and discoveries had been of no effect Sir Humphrey was ordered to come before the Privy Council and surrender his patent². No record of further proceedings in this connection have been found, but Gilbert evidently managed to convince the Privy Council of his good faith for the letters patent were not revoked. Early in 1582 he began to rehabilitate his fortunes in order to make it possible for him to fit out a further expedition by making further assignments of land under his patent.

9. 'THE LAST' EXPEDITION

It was in the spring of 1582, after over two years of incubation, that Gilbert brought his last and most elaborate project to light. It branched into a great maze of individual and corporate enterprises for the conquest and settlement of North America, and, although Gilbert lost his life in attempting to carry out his part of it, led to the first plantation of Virginia less than a year after his death. Land was the greatest single outlet for speculation and investment in England in the sixteenth century, but speculative dealings in land had made it dear, and much land was in any case not profitable owing to cumbersome tenurial arrangements and the heavy burdens placed on land held by feudal tenures from the Crown. Gilbert's projects opened up to English landowners, and those desirous of speculating in land, the prospect of acquiring vast estates, lightly encumbered, where they could hope to lord it over their tenants with the power of feudal nobles. This was the newest and, in many ways, the most interesting aspect of the projects of 1582-4. There

¹ Gosling, pp. 161-5.

² Document no. 75, p. 242.

were, of course, many others. Gold, silver and jewels were an important incentive. West Africa, South and Central America alike had brought their conquerors wealth, and on a basis of probabilities alone the chances of finding precious metals in North America were good. If cheap land was a stimulus to colonising ventures precious metals could be an even greater one, for to him that had liquid capital all speculations were open. But the chances of finding precious metals were still very uncertain, and financial and commercial interests in England favoured rather Drake's plundering methods than doubtful prospecting ventures over a large sub-continent, and Elizabeth undoubtedly agreed with them. The Frobisher fiasco had also killed chances of a gold-discovery project for some years¹. The economic advantages of colonies to England had been discussed by the elder Hakluyt and by Anthony Parkhurst in 1578. The former stressed the value of colonies in providing sources of raw materials, which could be exploited solely under English control, and so would reduce her dependence on Spain, France and the Baltic, and also make it possible to develop new products as the basis of new manufactures. He also emphasized the necessity for finding new and exclusive markets for English manufactures. Parkhurst stressed the value of cheap food to the English people². There were, therefore, commercial incentives to engage in colonisation, and we find the outports helping in the projects of 1582-4, although the big London trading interests for the most part held aloof. Another advantage which colonies could offer was profitable occupation for the unemployed, a product of the transition from feudal society, whose employment was a major problem of the period; though this did not play an important part in the projects which we are considering. A particular problem, which was in the long run to play a considerable part in the peopling of North America, was that of groups of persons who could not fit into the state system of religious worship. Catholic gentry, who did not wish to conspire against Elizabeth and who would not conform to the established church, might expect to find in American colonies

¹ See Carleill's comments in Document no. 110, p. 358.

² Document no. 24, pp. 181-6; Taylor, *Hakluyts*, pp. 11-15, 123-34.

freedom from religious persecution and economic spoliation. Such a group did, indeed, play a prominent part in the projects of 1582-4. A final incentive was to beat Spain at her own game and raise political power on the basis of a colonial empire. The possession of strong settlements in North America would also provide bases for use against the Spanish American possessions. This was a primary consideration in Gilbert's plans in 1577, but it had sunk to a secondary place in his final schemes.

It is between March and May 1582 that we first get any information about the preparation of an expedition. On 15 March we hear of a Mr. Ashley, a maker of playing cards, who was making beads '& other devises' to adventure with Gilbert who was said to be 'abowt an other viag'¹. On 19 April it was reported that Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard were going with Gilbert, and that the Catholics were very much interested in the voyage². Gilbert was at Southampton later in the month trying to purchase shipping. Richard Madox saw him at the Dolphin when he was offended because the organisers of the Fenton expedition had bought Luke Ward's bark, which he had apparently hoped to purchase³, but he was probably placated when they sold him a frigate for £40 'for his supply'⁴. It was probably at this time that he made contact with one or more of the three men previously connected with the East India project and subsequently associated with him. It is unlikely that Richard Bingham, who had first of all been suggested as commander of the expedition in April 1581, but had been diverted to Portuguese projects in the autumn, was in Southampton⁵. It is possible that Martin Frobisher was still in the town. He had been selected in October 1581 to take over the command originally intended for Bingham⁶, but he broke with the promoters for appointing Edward Fenton as his second-in-command about 25 February⁷. He was, however, made an honorary freeman of

¹ Document no. 76, p. 243.

² Document no. 77, p. 243.

³ 24 April. Document no. 78, p. 244.

⁴ Document no. 80, p. 244.

⁵ *CSP Sp.* 1580-6, nos. 77, 82 ('Vingen', in Navarrete, xci, 561-2, 572); *Cal. Carew MSS.* 1575-88, p. 316.

⁶ *CSP Sp.* 1580-6, no. 150.

⁷ BM, Cotton MS. Appendix XLVII, ff. 7, 19v; *CSP Sp.* 1580-6, nos. 225, 228.

Southampton on the following 17 March¹, and may have been still there to renew his acquaintance with Gilbert in April. Indeed, Mendoza reported on 26 April that he was preparing to lead an expedition himself and to race Fenton to the East², and on 4 May he was said to be ready to sail with two ships³. It is probable that these preparations were made at Southampton, although they seem to have come to nothing. Christopher Carleill was almost certainly still in Southampton while Gilbert was there. He had been intended to command the force which Fenton was to leave in China and he remained with the expedition almost up to the time of its departure. He then retired in a huff because William Hawkins, the second-in-command, had been mentioned before him in the final instructions for the voyage. This rupture took place on 21 April⁴. He is not known to have met Gilbert before, but it is quite possible that they became acquainted at this time. This visit in April and May was apparently the first paid by Gilbert to Southampton. He made the acquaintance of its leading merchants and this led to his becoming an honorary freeman on 27 August⁵ and, more important, paved the way for the Southampton company organised to assist his expedition in November of the same year. Mendoza had some news of Gilbert's objective by 26 April and wrote to Philip II that he was fitting out three ships to go to Florida and settle on the site of Ribault's old colony⁶. During May he continued to make complaints about Gilbert's preparations⁷.

From the beginning of June, Gilbert, as Hayes said afterwards, 'refused not to entertaine every person and meanes whatsoever, to furnish out this expedition'⁸, and this led to a series of preparations. Originally it would seem that Gilbert, in association with the Catholic group headed by Peckham and Gerrard, intended to lead a single expedition to America, but by June it had been decided that the Catholics

¹ Book of Oaths 1496-1704, Southampton Municipal Records.

² Document no. 79, p. 244.

³ Document no. 81, p. 245.

⁴ BM, Cotton MS. Appendix XLVII, f. 15v; Cotton MS. Otho E VIII, ff. 129v, 144v.

⁵ Document no. 93, p. 280.

⁶ Document no. 79, p. 244.

⁷ Documents nos. 81, 82.

⁸ Document no. 134, pp. 422-3.

should make their own way to America, while Gilbert partly financed his own expedition out of the money they paid him for assignments of land. Between 6 June 1582 and 28 February 1583 he assigned at least 8,500,000 acres on the mainland and seven islands off the coast to the Catholics, and although we do not know what they paid him the total must have been appreciable.

The type of organisation which he envisaged in America was that of a congeries of settlements over which he should be the governor and landlord, but within which his tenants, either as corporations or as individuals, would have wide power to develop their lands. His scheme for the general organisation of the colonies is set down in a remarkable document, dated 8 July 1582, by which he appointed Sir John Gilbert, Sir George Peckham and William Aucher as his executors to act, in the event of his death, during the minority of his heirs. A general government was to be provided for in the shape of a chief governor and thirteen 'Counsellors for Marshall and maryne causes' who were to be 'chosen by the consent of the people'. All landowners were to maintain men equipped for war and a 'Navy and soldiars for the generall defence of those Countries territories Ilandes and domynyons' were to be financed by the levy, after ten years, of a halfpenny yearly from every acre of land and wood occupied. Landlords to whom 4000 acres or more were assigned were to build a dwelling house 'in the cheif Cittie of the province or in such other apte place as by the cheif officers shalbe thoughte mete'. Clergy were to assign one-twentieth and laymen one-fortieth of their lands 'towardses the mayntenaunces of maymed soldiars and of learninge, lectures, scholers and other good and godlye uses in such sorte as shalbe from tyme to tyme thoughte moste mete by the consente of the cheif Majestrates and lawe makers of those Countries'. An established church was to be provided for by the allocation of lands to archbishops and bishops, and the setting aside of glebe lands in each parish. Poor persons, to be sent over 'by the generall charge of the Realme', were to be given land, provided they brought with them seed and tools (enumerated) to the value of forty-three shillings. There were to be assigned to Gilbert's

wife and sons seignories fifty miles square and to his daughters seignories twenty miles square¹.

Three assignments made by Gilbert in June and July 1582 contain almost identical provisions. Land was assigned to the grantees to hold by fealty in free socage, paying to Gilbert one shilling and three pence per one thousand acres yearly, with two-fifths of the gold, silver and precious stones discovered, for all lands occupied after seven years. They were to have extensive rights of jurisdiction and freedom of trade, provided they paid customs to Gilbert². Another assignment made in June, provided for a rent of five shillings per thousand acres on similar terms, and obliged the grantees to supply armed ships and men for Gilbert's service, proportionate to land occupied after seven years³. Similar rent was provided for in a further agreement of 28 February 1583, and it was laid down that the grantees, Sir George Peckham and his son George, should not be charged 'with any contribucion towards any Warres other then defencis and that onlie by acte of Parliamente of which assemblie the said Sir George and all those which shall beare the name of an Associate with hym shalbe as principall members in everye suche Sessions and assemblie'⁴.

The exploitation of commercial privileges under Gilbert's patent was assigned in November 1582 to a mercantile corporation which was to have its headquarters at Southampton. Its members were to have exclusive privileges of freedom of trade with territories acquired under the patent, and Southampton was to be the sole staple port for all commodities brought from those territories. The corporation was to be headed by four officials, governor, treasurer, agent and secretary, to be appointed in the first instance by Gilbert, and eight assistants to

¹ Document no. 89. See also no. 88, where certain of these arrangements are referred to.

² 6 June to Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard of 1,500,000 acres and two of four islands, to be discovered by them (£10 a year to be paid for each island after seven years); 6 June to Sir George Peckham of 500,000 acres; 7 July to Philip Sidney of 3,000,000 acres. Documents nos. 83, 84, 88, pp. 245-54, 260-6.

³ 9 June to Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard of 1,500,000 acres. Document no. 86, pp. 256-7.

⁴ Assignment of 1,500,000 acres and five islands. Document no. 103, pp. 341-6.

be chosen annually by the court of all the members. The court was to meet twice a year and was to make rules for the conduct of the members of the corporation. Gilbert was to get a share of the fines exacted. Members were to provide money or goods for their adventures, evidently on a joint stock basis, and were to have shares in the commodities got during the voyage to which they contributed. Those who adventured in the first voyage were to get lands as well as a return on their stock and those who went in person were to have special privileges. Lands were promised to the company for the support of impoverished members, and the company was to be allowed to send out expeditions to discover and occupy lands which should be held from Gilbert by free socage, paying ten shillings a year for each thousand acres after seven years. The foundation members of the 'Merchant Adventurers with Sir Humphrey Gilbert' were to be those who put in adventures under the auspices of the corporation before the beginning of the first voyage. Freedom of trade was also to be granted to various groups specified in the agreements, although it is not quite clear whether they were to be full members of the company or not. These comprised (1) all persons of the blood of Gilbert and his wife; (2) officials, courtiers and gentlemen who were adventuring under Gilbert's auspices; (3) subscribers to the expedition of 1578; (4) persons who remained with him in 1579 until the final breaking up of his fleet at Kinsale, while on service in Ireland; (5) adventurers of Totnes and Dartmouth; (6) adventurers with Sir John Gilbert; (7) adventurers with Bernard Drake; (8) adventurers with Anthony Brigham; (9) adventurers in person on the first voyage; (10) other adventurers certified to the society within three years by either Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir John Gilbert or Sir George Peckham. Two groups of persons were to be excluded from membership, firstly, persons of Southampton who had not subscribed in 1578 and who did not make any adventure in 1582-3 and, secondly, members of the Muscovy Company¹.

These assignments prepared a framework for a colonial Utopia, in which Gilbert should be the governor and universal

¹ Agreements and schedules of names, 2 November-12 December 1582. Documents nos. 99, 100, pp. 313-35.

landlord. The only connection with the Crown would be through him and the colony would be practically independent of the realm of England.

It is clear from the arrangements made in the summer of 1582 that two expeditions were intended to be made that year. One was to be under the leadership of Anthony Brigham, with whom certain of the Catholic group were associated, and which it was assumed would leave during June¹. No details have been found regarding this, but it may have actually been despatched on a prospecting voyage, for on 17 March 1583 Mendoza stated that two vessels sent out the previous summer had not yet returned². If Brigham was their commander he returned safely, for he was doing propaganda for Peckham some time after 25 March³.

Gilbert's plans in June were to go out himself on a prospecting voyage as soon as possible and to return in time to set out again on a more elaborate expedition shortly after 31 March 1583. The ships he was preparing in Southampton in April and May were for the prospecting voyage and Mendoza asserted on 25 July that two ships and a pinnace were at Southampton ready to sail. But apparently some hitch developed, probably a financial one, and by November his plan was to set out before the end of April 1583 and to remain for about eight months trying to establish his colony⁴.

It seems probable, although the evidence is circumstantial rather than direct, that from early in 1582 Richard Hakluyt, the younger, had been engaged in collecting documentary evidence on America in connection with Gilbert's project, and he may have been employed to do so. Hakluyt had sponsored Florio's translation of the accounts of two of Cartier's voyages which appeared in 1580-1, and Professor Taylor argues strongly that the preface to this translation, which made an eloquent appeal for the colonisation of North America, was inspired by Hakluyt himself⁵. On 21 May 1582 there appeared in the Stationers' Register the following entry: 'Thomas Woodcocke. Licensed

¹ Document no. 87, pp. 257-60.

³ Document no. 118, pp. 375-6.

⁵ Documents nos. 99, 100, pp. 321, 327.

² Document no. 107, p. 349.

⁴ Document no. 86, pp. 256-7.

⁶ *Hakluyts*, pp. 21-2, 164-8.

to him under the Bishop of London and both the wardens handes *Divers voyages towching the discove[r]y of America*. vi s.¹, and the book, compiled by Richard Hakluyt, appeared before 25 March 1583 and probably in the autumn of 1582.

The *Divers voyages* was a collection of what Hakluyt considered the important documents on, firstly, the prospects of colonising in North America, and, secondly, the prospects of finding a passage through or round North America to the Pacific. The contents fall into four groups, one of Cabot documents with the purpose of proving the English title by prior discovery to North America and another of documents on the northerly passages. The third dealt with temperate America and consisted of a reprint of the 1563 edition of Ribault's account of the Florida colony and a translation of Verrazzano's narrative of a voyage from 30° N. to Cape Breton. The final group contains the notes on colonisation, probably prepared for Gilbert in 1578 and already referred to², and a list of the products of North America. The evidence particularly connecting it with Gilbert's projects consists of: (1) the dedication to Philip Sidney who was one of Gilbert's assignees³; (2) the inclusion in the list of 'certaine late travaylers' of 1582—'Humfrey Gilbert knight, Edward Heyes, and Antonie Brigham Englishmen'⁴—whom Hakluyt expected to have set out before it was published; (3) 'The relation of John Vererzanus', which was the source of certain topographical information found in an assignment by Gilbert on 28 February 1583⁵, and which has the gloss to the name 'Morumbega'—'The Country of Sir H. G. voyage'⁶; (4) the Cabot documents which may have been published with the object of allaying the doubts of those who hesitated about encroaching on Spanish preserves; (5) the notes on colonisation, unused in 1578, but of value for the current project; and (6) the list of American commodities which is closely linked with a list

¹ Arber, *A transcript of the registers of the Company of Stationers*, II, 339.

² Document no. 24, p. 181-6 and pp. 36, 56 above.

³ Reprinted by Taylor, *Hakluyts*, pp. 175-81. Lok's map was also dedicated to Sidney. It is reproduced facing p. 313 below.

⁴ Reprinted *ibid.*, p. 172.

⁵ Document no. 103, pp. 342-3.

⁶ Sig. B 1. See Mood, 'Narragansett Bay and Dee river, 1583,' in *Rhode Is. Hist. Soc. Collections*, xxvii, 97-100.

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compiled as evidence for the inquiry of August and September 1582¹.

The public propaganda of the *Divers voyages* was supplemented by private inquiry into the possibilities of America for settlement and exploitation. On 16 July Sir George Peckham, frightened by Mendoza's threats and assertions that Florida was owned and occupied by Spain, visited John Dee 'to know the tytyle for Norombega in respect of Spayn and Portugall parting the whole worlds discoveries'. Dee's answers were evidently reassuring, for Peckham promised Dee a grant of 5000 acres in America and hoped to get the same amount for him from Sir Thomas Gerrard². In August and September a general inquiry was held, before 'Sir Fraunceys Walsingham her majestes principall Secretarye and . . . Sir George Peckham knight and dyvers others of good judgment and Creditt'³. The chief witness was a certain David Ingram who alleged that he had been put on shore by Hawkins on the Gulf of Mexico in 1568 and had been one of the party which had taken an easterly route and, with two companions, Richard Browne and Richard Twyde, had walked north-eastwards across North America, to be finally rescued by a French ship sixty leagues west of Cape Breton. The story of his twelve months' perambulation is not, unfortunately, told chronologically in either of the two accounts which have survived⁴, but he gave detailed accounts of the people, animals, plants and minerals of the country.

The authenticity of the outline of his story could easily have been tested by Hawkins, whom he said he visited on his return to England about the end of 1569 or early in 1570, and the fact that Hakluyt printed his narrative in 1589 suggests that his connection with Hawkins had been checked. It was physically just about possible for a man to walk from Mexico (23° N.)⁵ to Cape Breton, a distance of over 3000 miles, in a year. It is very unlikely that he did so. His own chronology is a little weak. Hakluyt's version gave his total time as twelve months, but

¹ Document no. 97, pp. 310-13. On the *Divers voyages*, see Taylor, *Hakluyts*, pp. 22-6; Parks, *Hakluyt*, pp. 68-84.

² Document no. 91, p. 280.

³ Document no. 95, p. 283, n. 5.

⁴ Documents nos. 95, 96, pp. 283-307. Questions put to him are in Document no. 94, pp. 281-3.

⁵ Williamson, *Hawkins*, p. 236.

Sloane MS. 1447, f. 1,¹ puts it at eleven months. In the *Principall navigations* he says that he spent seven out of twelve months north of the river May² (Altamaha, 31° 40' N.?), but in answer to questions he said three months.³ He mentions a river and a bay of St. Mary's⁴, and that the river mouth where he emerged was called Banda or Garinda⁵. He also says he travelled in sight of the sea to the north of America for two days. He puts his own mileage at about 2000⁶, and it is conceivable that he did in fact reach the Atlantic coast. The account of Captain Champaine and the *Gargarine* sounds plausible enough, and Ingram says they made the Lizard twenty days after leaving the place where he was picked up.⁷

The account itself in its various versions has never been considered worth minute examination by an authority on American geography, but, pending such an analysis it is probably unfair to say that it is 'padded with imaginary descriptions of native life and customs'⁸. Elephants, gold and pearls have crept in in quantities, but, with his experiences more than twelve years behind him, and doubtless much re-telling of the story in between, this is not surprising. Some of his information he could have obtained in English if he could read, but much of it sounds as if it had a basis in fact and some appears to be sound enough. By the time Hakluyt was preparing a second edition of the *Principal navigations* he knew that the elephants and the gold were probably fictions so he deleted Ingram's narrative from his collection⁹.

Another witness was 'Sir Humfrye Gylbertes man which he sent to discover y^t land', a member of the crew of the *Squirrel* in the voyage of 1580¹⁰, and a third was John Walker or one of his crew who had also been to North America in 1580¹¹. A list was made of commodities mentioned by Verrazzano, Cartier, João de Barros, André Thevet and John Walker—'of which number Sir Humfrye Gylbert did confer in person with the three last named'¹².

¹ p. 284, n. 3 below.

² p. 287 below.

³ p. 281.

⁴ p. 302.

⁵ pp. 294, 307.

⁶ p. 284.

⁷ pp. 294-5, 307.

⁸ Williamson, *Hawkins*, p. 237.

⁹ Ingram offered to go with Gilbert to prove his assertions (p. 283) and Peckham says that, not only did he go and return in 1583, but that he was 'very desirous to be employed thether againe' (p. 452).

¹⁰ p. 282.

¹¹ pp. 309-10.

¹² p. 307.

There is nothing surprising about Gilbert having talked with Walker, but it is rather unlikely that he had encountered Barros and Thevet. Barros, author of the *Asia* (1552-63), had died in 1570. Gilbert knew of his great work but had never visited Portugal. It is conceivable though not probable that Gilbert had met Thevet in France in 1562-3, but he was likely to have known his description of North America (first published in 1558¹) in the English translation by Thomas Hacket entitled *The New found world or Antaretike* (1568), and he may have encountered the *Cosmographie universelle* of 1575². On the other hand there are considerable similarities between this list of commodities and that published by Hakluyt in the *Divers voyages* and said to be drawn from Verrazzano, Thorne, Cartier, Ribault and Best³. It is, therefore, possible that Hakluyt compiled this list also. Hakluyt knew something of Barros and had spoken of him to the Portuguese ambassador, Castilio, early in 1582. He also knew of the publication of the *Cosmographie* by Thevet in 1575.⁴ The statement that Gilbert had spoken with Barros and Thevet may be either the echo of a boast of his or a mistake of the compiler of the report.

It is not known who besides Walsingham and Peckham helped to make the inquiry. Gilbert must have been present at most of the discussions, although he was probably in Southampton towards the end of August⁵. It is likely that the younger Hakluyt was also present⁶, but John Dee was not invited, as if he had been he would almost certainly have entered the fact in his diary. On 1 November Sir George Peckham sent David Ingram and 'Mr Clement the seammaster'⁷ to Dee for further discussions⁸. As Professor Parks points out, the fault of the early enthusiasts for colonisation in America was not in accepting

¹ *Les singularitez de la France Antaretique autrement nommée Amérique*, Paris and Antwerp, 1558. Italian trans. Venice, 1561.

² Two vols. Paris.

³ Document no. 97, pp. 310-3.

⁴ Taylor, *Hakluyts*, pp. 171-2, 176.

⁵ Document no. 93, p. 280.

⁶ Peckham expresses his thanks to Walsingham for Hakluyt's assistance before 11 March 1583. Document no. 104, p. 347.

⁷ Clements has not been met with elsewhere in connection with the 1582-4 projects. A Joseph Clements had made a voyage to Constantinople in 1575. Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, v (1904), 168.

⁸ Document no. 98, p. 313.

glowing reports about the products of the country, but in believing that they were all to be found in the same place¹.

The cartographical materials which were used in the preliminary investigations of 1582-3 form a difficult subject to deal with, since the data for forming any opinion are few. On 12 December 1582 Sir Humphrey Gilbert deposited his 'sea carte' with the officials of the Southampton Company², and on 28 February 1583 an assignment was made which indicated the use of a detailed map with which Dee had some connection. The grant made over to Sir George Peckham and his son, George, 'all that ryver or porte called by Master John Dee, Dee Ryver which Ryver by the discripcion of John Verarzanus a Florentyne lyeth in Septentrionall latitude about fortye twoo degrees and hath his mouth lyinge open to the South halfe a league brode or there aboute and enteringe within the saide Baye betwene the Easte and the Northe encreaseth his breadith and contynueth twelve leagues or there aboutes and then maketh a gulf of twentie leagues compasse or thereaboutes and conteyneth in it selfe five small Islandes newlie named the Cinque Isles. And the saide gulfes and the fyve Isles therein and all other Isles lyinge within the saide Ryver or gulfes together with fyfteene hundred thousande acres of ground within the supposed contynent lyinge nexte adjoininge upon the saide ryver gulfes and fyve Isles' to be at choice of the grantees³. John Dee in a list of his works assigns to 1583 a map which he catalogues as 'A geographical and hydrographical description of the northern hemisphere, differing widely from the maps generally known, presented as a gift to certain Englishmen planning a voyage to the northern shores of the Atlantic'⁴. In 1928 a map⁵ was sold answering to this description in so far as it was a polar map extending to 20° N. It bore the inscription 'Sir Humfray

¹ For the discussions of 1582, and the probable part played by the younger Hakluyt in them, see Parks, *Hakluyt*, pp. 78 seq.

² Document no. 100, p. 335.

³ Document no. 103, pp. 342-3.

⁴ 'Hemisphaeri Borealis Geographica atque Hydrographica descriptio; longè a vulgatis chartis diversa: Anglis quibusdam versus Atlantidis septentrionalia littora navigationem instituentibus, dono data.' See *Joannes Glastoniensis, chronica*. . . . *Descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius*, p. 526. Dee implies it was printed.

⁵ Reproduced facing p. 374 below.

Gylbert Knight his charte' in a hand which is fairly certainly not Gilbert's, and also two cabalistic signs, one being '☉' and the other being enclosed between initials—'T[☉]_PS fecit'. The latter sign has been asserted to be the personal mark of John Dee¹. The initials are evidently those of the person who drew the map. Dee's diary gives no clue to anyone with such initials². We can probably say that it was not a map taken by Gilbert on his last voyage, as we may imply from Hayes that all his maps were lost on the *Delight*³, so that the map must have been given to Gilbert at some time before his departure and left behind by him in England. The only theory on its history is that the ninth Earl of Northumberland (who succeeded in 1585) received it from Raleigh, who had had it from Gilbert, and it is doubtful if this suggestion has any value. The watermark of the paper may be limited, with some uncertainty, to the years 1578–86⁴. Besides the items already mentioned Lok's map of 1582 (in *Divers voyages*) and Dee's map of 1580 should be taken into account in considering it.

The cartographical aspects of the map have been studied by three writers, R. P. Bishop, W. F. Ganong and H. R. Wagner. Bishop, in the pioneer treatment of the map⁵, is concerned to show that the passages through and around North America which it depicts are evidence that Gilbert's objects in his last expedition were to find a passage through North America and to plant a colony on the Pacific coast. Unfortunately what he considers to be his strongest evidence is both misdated and misinterpreted and does not refer to Gilbert at all⁶. There is no evidence that at any time after 1576 Gilbert had any idea of

¹ It is said to appear in his work *Monus hieroglyphica* (1564). 'The Gilbert map of c. 1582–3' in *Geographical Journal*, LXXII (1928), 235.

² Seven persons with the initials T. S. appear in the index to Halliwell's edition of Dee's *Diary*, but none of them appears to be likely to have made the map.

³ Document no. 124, pp. 403–4, 417–8. ⁴ *Geographical Journal*, LXXII, 235.

⁵ R. P. Bishop, 'Lessons of the Gilbert map,' in *Geographical Journal*, LXXII, 235–43.

⁶ The Exeter evidence of 1584, for which he accepts Cotton's dating of 1583. See pp. 92–3 below and Document no. 133, pp. 480–2.

pursuing the search for a North-west Passage or had any hope of a passage through temperate latitudes. Ganong, in making a detailed cartographical study of the Atlantic coast of Canada¹, is willing to accept the presumptive date of 1583. He indicates that in certain particulars it shows an improvement on Lok's map of 1582 and, like it, suggests the influence of Dee. Wagner, in his study of the cartography of the north-west coast of America², is unwilling to accept the suggestion of 1583 as its date or to admit its similarity to Lok's map. He concludes that 'Obviously what we have here is a collection of possible routes by which to reach the South Sea based on all the fables Dee could find, modified as some of them had to be by the appearance of maps showing a continuous continental body even higher than 45°. It is just such a sketch as might have been presented to a council in 1575 or 1576 which had under consideration the forthcoming voyage of Frobisher. That it was used for such a purpose I think is certain'.

It is not possible to go into the cartographical content of the Gilbert map in great detail, but if the trans-continental routes are ignored there is sufficient detailed similarity as regards the Atlantic coastline of North America, allowing for the difference of scale, between the Gilbert map and Dee's map of 1580 to make it almost certain that they were compiled under the same inspiration. The main difference is that the Gilbert map shows two Atlantic and two Pacific entrances to water passages across America below 50° N. which take up much of the area shown as land on the other. One passage is a continuous St. Lawrence which reaches the Pacific about 35° N. and the other branches south from the St. Lawrence and passes through a large sea ('Mare de Verazana. 1524') into the Pacific about 20° N. In addition the eastern part of America becomes an island, separated from the mainland by a channel linked to the St. Lawrence and, therefore, to the two passages just described. No such through passages appear on the Dee map of 1580, and the nomenclature of the Gilbert map, even though there is much less of it, corresponds

¹ 'Crucial maps. IX', in *Proc. & Trans. of Royal Soc. of Canada*, series 3, xxxi, Section 2, pp. 117-8.

² *The cartography of the northwest coast of America*, 1, 77-9.

in some points only. One of the cases in which it does correspond is in the name and spelling of Norumbega. Both maps show an opening at 41° N. The 1580 map has three islands to the east of this opening and two to the west, while there are three more within the wide gulf which is the mouth of a river, called R. de Gamas. The Gilbert map shows the opening as a continuously wide passage to the St. Lawrence, with no islands marked in it, but with five islands in a cluster well to the west of its mouth. These islands are probably not to be equated with those in the Dee map already mentioned, but with a group of seven further to the west. Neither map corresponds, therefore, in these particulars to the description of the Dee River and the Cinque Islands in the assignment of 28 February 1583.

Alternatively the Dee River may be a small inlet (unnamed) further to the east and in latitude 42° N. in the 1580 map, the channel of which widens some distance inland into a gulf. In the Gilbert map this inlet had been considerably enlarged and has just inside its mouth a string of small islands, although the scale and workmanship of the map does not make clear whether three or five islands are intended. W. B. Goodwin and Fulmer Mood make out a plausible case that this is the Dee River, or the 'Refugio' described in the Verrazzano narrative published in the *Divers voyages*, and that it can be identified as Narragansett Bay and Newport Harbour¹. If these writers make their point it is clear that the Gilbert map is later than the 1580 map and cannot be assigned to 1575-6 as Wagner suggests. It still remains true, however, that the Gilbert map is not, like the 1580 map, an honest attempt to select the best available evidence on North America, but rather an attempt to display all the evidence, good and bad, for the existence of waterways through America. As it is sufficiently clear that Gilbert had limited his objectives to a settlement on the Atlantic coast it may be asked why Dee should supply Gilbert with such a map. The only answer that can be suggested is that the map was not intended to be used in

¹ W. B. Goodwin, 'The Dee River of 1583 (now called Narragansett Bay) and its relation to Norumbega,' in *Rhode Is. Hist. Soc. Collections*, xxvii. No. 2, pp. 38-50 (with sketch-map laying out the 1,500,000 acres, reproduced facing p. 343 below); Fulmer Mood, 'Narragansett Bay and Dee River, 1583,' *ibid.*, xxviii. No. 4, pp. 97-100.

Gilbert's voyage, but was a piece of promotion material intended to attract subscribers to Gilbert's venture by the offer of lands adjacent to the routes through which the trade with Asia would in future pass. That Gilbert did not take it to America with him is the strongest evidence that in all its parts it was not intended to be taken too seriously, although there is no need to doubt his belief and that of Dee in the Dee River.

Lok's map¹ is a creation of less interest than the Gilbert map just described. In it most of North America above 40° N. is occupied by water and only a narrow isthmus at that latitude separates the Atlantic from the projection of the Pacific called Mare de Verrazana. At two points, however, it has analogies with the Gilbert map. It shows Norombega as an island, and it has an inlet, east of the passage cutting it off from the mainland, which contains four islands and which may be intended to represent the Dee River².

The 'Catholic group' previously referred to was not entirely composed of Catholics, but it was a product of the religious struggle which was becoming increasingly bitter as it became a national and political struggle between England and Spain. The Act of 1581 'to retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due obedience'³, was, as Professor Pollard says, 'intended to clear the English decks for action by marking and securing the malcontents or doubtful members of the state'⁴. The penalties for engaging in Catholic practices were made enormously more severe and mere nonconformity was punishable by fines of £20 a month. It was the latter regulation, which threatened recusants with economic ruin, that led to the association of a group of Catholics with Gilbert.

Sir George Peckham had been a subscriber to Gilbert's expedition of 1578 and he was probably the inspirer of the move of some of the Catholics to get away from the new penalties to an American colony. As a Catholic he was not irreconcilable to

¹ Reproduced facing p. 313 below.

² See Ganong, 'Crucial maps. IX', pp. 116-7.

³ 23 Eliz., c. 1.

⁴ Pollard, *History of England 1547-1603*, p. 375. See also for what follows, R. B. Merriman, 'Some notes on the treatment of English Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth' in *American Hist. Rev.*, XIII, 480-500.

the government, but he had been imprisoned in 1580 for harbouring priests and was only released in March 1581 when he promised to conform in future and put in bonds for the performance of his promise¹. Sir Thomas Gerrard, Peckham's principal associate, was a Lancashire Catholic who had spent some years in prison². He had put forward several schemes for the plantation of Ulster in 1569-70³, and it was possibly in connection with these that he first made the acquaintance of Gilbert.

The opening of negotiations between Gilbert and the Catholics must have had the prior approval of some members of the government⁴. Walsingham took a prominent part in the preparations, and the petition which Gerrard and Peckham addressed to him in June 1582 set out the terms which they desired. They asked that all persons whose names were recorded in a register, one copy of which should be kept by a member of the Privy Council, should be allowed to embark on 'the nexte viaige for conqueste' and allowed to go and return freely thereafter. They agreed that recusants who could pay their fines should do so before they departed, and that those who could not should enter into bonds to do so after they were established in America. Of every ten men to be brought with them one was to be a person without means. They promised that Catholics would not misuse the permission to leave the country to go to foreign kingdoms or to do anything to Elizabeth's prejudice⁵. The government was willing to agree to such a scheme, but it placed grave difficulties in the way of the promoters, for, if the wealthy Catholics were to be bled white to pay their fines before they left, it was difficult to see how the money was to be raised to pay Gilbert as well, and leave enough for the establishment

¹ See *APC 1580-1*, pp. 282-3, 291, 296, 325, 346; *SP 12/147*, 4. In 1580 he had presented the Church House at Denham to the parish. *VCH Bucks*, III, 261. He was still classed as a recusant in 1582. *Misc. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, XII, 120.

² For Gerrard, see *VCH Lancs.*, III, IV, VI, VII; *VCH Derby*, II; J. C. Cox, *Notes on the churches of Derbyshire*, III (1877), *passim*.

³ *SP 63/27*, 64; 30, 32. He also put down his name as a subscriber for Frobisher's second voyage. *CSP Col. E. India, Ch. & Jap.*, p. 48.

⁴ Read, *Walsingham*, III, 40-3.

⁵ Document no. 85, pp. 255-6.

of the colony. It was probably this difficulty which made many Catholics retire from the scheme and which also rendered necessary an appeal to non-Catholic elements to cooperate. Sir Thomas Gerrard is not heard of in connection with the project after June 1582, and it appears that he was imprisoned for not paying his fine and had to sell the manor of Brindle in order to meet the government demands on him¹. His retirement was probably due, therefore, to lack of further resources.

In June, however, Peckham and Gerrard were preparing to follow up Brigham's intended voyage of reconnaissance with an expedition for the conquest of 4,000,000 acres of the American mainland and four islands, which was to start before 31 March 1583. Four gentlemen were roped in as associates²: Sir Edmund Brudenell, Sir William Catesby, William Shelley and Philip Basset. Brudenell was a well-established Northamptonshire landowner and a J.P. There is no evidence that he was a Catholic, although he had Catholic relatives³. The other three were undoubtedly recusants. Catesby was at this time on parole from the Fleet prison. He had been released, under bonds, in March 1582, and his parole was extended on 5 June because it was hoped that he would become 'herafter conformable in religion'⁴. William Shelley had been also released on parole on 26 June 1581⁵, but his leave had also probably been extended. Philip Basset was apparently a Devon man and was released from the Fleet, under recognizances, on 15 July 1581⁶.

The agreement⁷, to which Brudenell, Catesby, Shelley and

¹ *VCH Lancs.*, vi, 76.

² Which meant that they agreed to supply at least £100 and ten men each for the next voyage (and forty men for a subsequent voyage) and were to have seignories of 10,000 acres in America in return.

³ Information kindly given to me by Miss Joan Wake, who is writing a history of the family.

⁴ *APC* 1581-2, pp. 156, 163-4, 176, 347, 406, 408, 436.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 105. There were two William Shelleys, one of Sutton, Herefordshire, who was discharged from the Fleet under bond on 16 September 1582 (*Misc. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, II, 222, 229), and the other, William Shelley of Michelgrove, Sussex, who was sent to the Fleet in August 1580 (*APC* 1580-1, p. 152). The latter appears most likely to be meant.

⁶ *APC* 1581-2, p. 130.

⁷ Document no. 87, pp. 257-60.

Basset were parties with Gerrard and Peckham, laid down in detail the conditions under which adventurers, assistants and associates would be accepted to take up lands in America, and shows that Peckham aimed at establishing there, in the territories assigned to him, a society similar to that contemplated by Gilbert, in which he and Gerrard would be landowners and rulers of a community settled on hierarchical lines. The conditions are almost identical with those publicized by Peckham in the *True reporte* after Gilbert's death¹. A further object of the agreement was to make provision for a conquering expedition to sail before 31 March 1583. Sir William Stanley, Richard Bingham and Martin Frobisher were also parties to it and they agreed they would take out a fleet, one of them acting as General. Bingham and Frobisher have been referred to already. It may have been intended to make the ships, which Mendoza said Frobisher had ready in May, the nucleus of a fleet. Stanley was a soldier who had been employed in Ireland until September 1581, but who alleged in January 1582 that he had been dismissed from his command without cause². He apparently had secret Catholic sympathies. The General was to undertake to 'discover' the land and islands assigned to Peckham and Gerrard, to establish a fort and leave a garrison as a token of occupation and also, apparently, to collect American products and trade with the natives, since all commodities got on the voyage were to be realised for the benefit of the adventurers.

On 7 July 1582 Philip Sidney received an assignment of 3,000,000 acres from Sir Humphrey Gilbert³. He had got into trouble in 1581 on account of his sympathy for certain Catholic gentry⁴, and it is probable that he was associated with the Catholic group in 1582, as Mendoza asserts⁵. He joined forces with Sir George Peckham in 1583, after Gilbert's departure.

When Mendoza heard of the Catholic project he was horrified. The terms which he reported on 11 July to have been granted were more liberal than those asked for by Peckham in

¹ Document no. 132, pp. 477-80. ² *CSP Ir.* 157-1-85, pp. 318-21, 342.

³ Document no. 88, pp. 260-6.

⁴ Sidney, *The defence of poesie* . . . *Correspondence*, pp. 140-1.

⁵ Document no. 90, p. 278.

June and they are not confirmed from other sources. Catholics who went with Peckham and Gerrard were to have freedom of conscience in America and also the financial receipts from their English properties. Those who went were to be accepted as loyal subjects and the offer was to extend to Catholic exiles as well as to those who should leave England. This was in his view a dastardly scheme to counteract the rapid growth of Catholicism in England by exporting those trustworthy Catholics who, by fostering Catholic missionaries, made preaching and propaganda possible. Through the Catholic priests, he said, he had issued horrible warnings. Florida belonged to Spain and they would get their throats cut by the Spaniards if they went. In addition they would imperil their faith by acting contrary to the papal will. He believed he had frightened many off the scheme, but not all¹.

It is probable that this counter-propaganda played its part in the collapse of the project for an expedition under Stanley, Bingham and Frobisher, as nothing more is heard of it, but finance is likely to have been a stumbling block as well. Stanley was commissioned to return to Ireland in November with soldiers and arrived in January 1583². Bingham was entered as an adventurer in December 1582³, but Frobisher appears to have had no further connection with the project before the autumn of 1583. Peckham, however, remained determined to proceed with the enterprise, obtaining a further assignment from Gilbert in February 1583⁴ and making a grant of 100,000 acres to William Rosewell of Forde on 15 May⁵. Mendoza said on 6 May that the Privy Council had made a fresh offer to the Catholics that, if they put up the money for an expedition to follow Gilbert, prisoners would be released and others allowed to live without molestation. He believed that his previous threats had prevented a response being made, but that a few

¹ Document no. 90, pp. 278-9.

² *CSP Ir.* 1574-85, pp. 411, 424. He created a great sensation by going over to the Spaniards in the Low Countries in 1587. See *APC* 1586-7, pp. 331, 377; *APC* 1587-8, pp. 335, 347, 410, 425.

³ p. 330 below. Bingham and Frobisher were both members of a naval commission in the autumn of 1583. Williamson, *Hawkins*, p. 347.

⁴ Document no. 103, pp. 341-6.

⁵ Document no. 114, pp. 369-73.

Catholics had sold up and were going with Gilbert himself¹. No further developments took place until Gilbert was at sea.

The most puzzling episode in the series of projects which were under way in 1582-3 is that connected with Christopher Carleill. Sometime in the autumn of 1582 Walsingham got in touch with the Bristol city authorities, through Richard Hakluyt the younger², and asked them to cooperate in Gilbert's enterprise. Thomas Aldworth, Mayor of Bristol, replied in November that the Bristol merchants would assist by supplying a ship or two barks. For some reason Walsingham delayed making an answer until 11 March 1583. He then wrote to say that he was sending Richard Hakluyt and Thomas Steventon to Bristol to confer with him, and that Gilbert, who intended to set out in about ten days' time, was still short of shipping. Aldworth was asked to have the ship or barks made ready in time to accompany Gilbert if possible, but if this could not be done, they should send them after him as soon as possible³. It was obviously impossible for ships to be fitted out to go with Gilbert at such short notice, and, in fact, Hakluyt and Steventon went on to make the suggestion that Christopher Carleill should conduct the vessels to America. After consultation with William Salterne, 'deputie' of the Merchant Adventurers of Bristol, and a meeting of the members of the company⁴, Aldworth wrote to Walsingham on 27 March to say that the merchants were willing to promise at least a thousand marks and so would be able to

¹ Document no. 111, pp. 364-5.

² Professor Taylor asserts (*Hakluyts*, pp. 26, 196) that Hakluyt visited Bristol at this time in order to do propaganda for Gilbert's expedition, but the evidence that he did so is not conclusive. It rests (a) on a reference (Document no. 104) by Walsingham to Aldworth's letter of November 1582, which can be explained by the suggestion that Hakluyt had written to Aldworth about the western discoveries, and (b) on a reference by Hakluyt in the 'Discourse of Western Planting', written apparently between July and October 1584, mentioning information acquired in Bristol 'not twoo yeres past' (Taylor, *Hakluyts*, p. 240), which may well apply to his visit in March 1583.

³ Document no. 105, p. 347.

⁴ There are unfortunately no records of the Merchant Adventurers of Bristol extant for this period, and the Bristol City Records throw no light on these proceedings.

provide a ship of sixty tons and a bark of forty tons. A final decision would be made not later than the end of April. They were willing to allow the ships to remain in America 'under the direction and government of your sonne in law [step-son] M. Carlile, of whom we have heard much good', and would accept Steventon as captain of one of the ships, but reserved the command of the other to a man well known to them¹.

Carleill, after his breach with Fenton in April 1582, had been employed, in command of the ship *Tiger*, in convoying the Muscovy Company's fleet through the Sound, where there had been some trouble with the Danish authorities². He was apparently now back in England and in need of employment. While awaiting a final decision from the Bristol merchants he began to prepare a project for bringing the Muscovy Company into association with him, the first fruits of which was a piece of promotion literature, entitled 'A briefe and summary discourse upon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of America', written during April, of which there are several drafts in the Public Record Office³. Carefully written for critical traders, this pamphlet is practical and sensible. It reviews the existing branches of English trade and points out various problems and difficulties connected with them. It then proceeds to indicate the special advantages of trade with North America. The ocean passage is rapid and straightforward. The natural commodities are greater than those of Muscovy, though similar in the northerly parts, while Mediterranean products can be grown farther south. There is a good probability that the natives, by the offer of articles of trade, will produce commodities needed in England, and, growing civilised, will be able to do so more efficiently. The development of trade will provide a market for English cloth. The plantation of a colony will enable the trade with the natives to be established quickly, and the colony, if it attracts the poor and unemployed, will itself prove productive. If there are any passages through America to the East Indies the colonists will be able to find them in time. Minerals may be

¹ Document no. 109, pp. 350-1.

² Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, III (1903), 303, 463.

³ Document no. 110, pp. 351-64.

found, but the chances are very speculative and not to be stressed. The French have recently opened up a profitable trade with the natives of Canada and the prospects of a more profitable trade further south are much greater. The critical, matter-of-fact tone in which it is written made it very powerful propaganda for use amongst London business men.

Carleill asked for £4000, in shares of £25, £12 10s. and £6 5s., to transport 100 men and establish them in a colony situated in about 40° N. This preliminary colony was to be more in the nature of a trading factory than a true settlement, although he expected settlement to be developed eventually. It appeared that Bristol had raised its offer to £1000, so the London merchants were being asked for £3000. The Muscovy Company remitted this project to a committee of ten of their most prominent members, who completed their report on 9 May¹. The committee accepted Carleill's arguments on the advisability of developing trade with North America and agreed that the members of the company should be asked to make preliminary offers to take up shares, but insisted that they should not be induced to part with their money until Carleill had obtained a patent from the crown, giving the adventurers corporate privileges and advantages. Eight points were set down as desirable to be included in the patent. Two of these were very comprehensive and comprised a monopoly of trade and a prohibition to all other English subjects to plant or trade within 200 leagues of the first established post. Such privileges could scarcely be granted while Gilbert's patent was in force.

Rumours of Carleill's projected voyage got about at the beginning of May², and he began to request subscriptions from private individuals. Before 14 May he had approached Thomas Bawdewyn, the Earl of Shrewsbury's factor in London, to try to raise £100 from the earl. In his reply on 20 May Shrewsbury suggested first of all that instead of contributing money he would be willing to allow Carleill to take his ship, the *Bark Talbot*, with him, if John Hawkins, who had apparently some interest in the vessel, agreed. While he was writing he received a further letter from Bawdewyn, and one from John

¹ Document no. 113, pp. 365-9.

² Document no. 112, p. 365.

Hawkins himself, about the Carleill venture. These made him change his mind and offer to contribute a hundred marks in money instead of the ship¹.

From this point there is no further record of any developments during 1583 and what happened can apparently not be ascertained. The impression which the existing evidence leaves is that Walsingham and Carleill were proposing to double-cross Gilbert, but that the Muscovy Company's terms were too high, as they asked Walsingham, in effect, to abrogate Gilbert's patent which he was unable to do. However, this is by no means proved and the actual position may have been quite different. The first problem to be considered is why Walsingham did not inform Gilbert of the Bristol offer of November 1582 and did not even reply to Aldworth for four months. The answer may be that before the offer came Walsingham had news of the Southampton agreement of 2 November which definitely established Southampton as the sole staple for goods brought from America. This was sufficient to make the Merchant Adventurers of Bristol, a city with a very much greater trade than Southampton, refuse to have anything to do with Gilbert's project. If this assumption is correct, Walsingham's withholding of the Bristol offer is intelligible. He wished to keep the true position dark, in the hope that some opportunity of utilizing the offer should turn up. In that case the letter of 11 March was simply bluff and the hurried request for the Bristol ships to join Gilbert was merely an excuse for bringing in his step-son Christopher Carleill, so that he could utilise the Bristol offer for an expedition when Gilbert was safely out of the way. The first step was carried through smoothly during Hakluyt's visit to Bristol, and Carleill was accepted as leader of the Bristol

¹ Document no. 115, pp. 373-4. The *Bark Talbot* had been owned, or partly owned, by Shrewsbury for some years (see Lambeth, Tenison MS. 695, *passim*, 1574). Prior to January 1582 it had been on a voyage to Newfoundland and Spain. HCA 13/24, 27 January 1582. It had been at one time intended to take part in the Fenton voyage to the East. BM, Cotton MS. Otho E viii, ff. 106-7v. Instead it went to the Azores in 1582 to help Dom Antonio. HCA 13/24, 15 January 1583. Shrewsbury said in November 1582 that the voyage had been unsuccessful. Lodge, *Illustrations of British history*, III (1838), separately paged list of Shrewsbury MSS., p. 48. It captured a Channel pirate in July 1583. Document no. 123, p. 384.

expedition. By this time Gilbert was expected to have left, and although he had not done so, Carleill was able to approach another important interest, which had been deliberately excluded by Gilbert from participation in the Southampton agreement, namely the Muscovy Company¹.

The situation was, in fact, very suitable for approaching the Company for support for a commercial project. The trade with Russia was prosperous enough, but insecure. The Persian trade had collapsed in 1581 and the North-east Passage expedition of 1580 had failed. The company was looking out for new directions in which to extend its business, as there were difficulties with the Danes and Swedes in the Baltic and even competition from the Dutch in the White Sea. The favour with which Carleill's proposal was received was considerable, but the company was not entitled by charter to any privileges as far south as 40° N. in America, and so it was proposed to empower a second corporation, largely recruited from members of the company, to exploit the American trade. Whether their proposals were directly aimed at Gilbert is not clear, but their comprehensiveness made it impossible to grant them, especially as he was still in England, and the whole project collapsed. There is no mention of Gilbert in any of the documents connected with the scheme after 11 March, but what Walsingham and Carleill may have intended was to send an expedition out in Gilbert's wake which should establish a post in America, without any elaborate assignment from him, and then make some equitable arrangement as to the delimiting of areas after he returned. In view of the profusion and variety of Gilbert's assignments such a proceeding might easily be justified.

¹ The exclusion of members of the Muscovy Co. from the Southampton Co. (p. 323) may have been due to memories of the terms offered to him by the company in 1567 (see p. 11, above), or possibly to a refusal of a more recent request for support. A pamphlet on Newfoundland, of 28 March 1614, asserts that he set out in 1583 with licence from the company: 'In the yeare 1583 by Leave and Admittaunce of the sayd fellowship [*crossed out*: Muscovie Companie] Sir humfrey Gilbert knight went out for the discoverie of the North parte of Terra Florida, came into the great River called St. Lawrence in Canada, tooke possession of the Cuntrye, settled the government of fishing there, which is soe well knowne in theis tymes.' SP 14/76, 51. See also Purchas, *Hakluytus posthumus*, XIII (1906), 8.

Walsingham and Carleill in their schemes were far in advance of Gilbert in perspicacity. The only groups in the country who had really adequate floating capital to finance colonisation were the London and Bristol merchants, and if they could be induced by commercial advantages to give their backing, enough money over a long enough period might have been forthcoming to keep a colony alive. As it was, the fortunes of a few gentlemen like Gilbert and Raleigh, and the contributions of impoverished Catholic gentlemen and of the merchants and tradesmen of a second-rate port were inadequate even to furnish a preliminary expedition satisfactorily, and a colony founded with their resources alone was doomed, unless it had extraordinarily good fortune.

Only imperfect information on the financing of Gilbert's own expedition has survived. A financial consideration is mentioned in connection with the assignments to the Peckhams and Sir Thomas Gerrard¹, but not in that to Sidney². In the list of persons to be privileged by the Southampton Company no sums of money are entered for the officials, courtiers and gentlemen named, but the initial members of the company, up to 12 December 1582, have their adventures specified. They comprise thirty-nine Southampton men and women who have paid £445, and eleven who promise £55, making £500. Five non-Southampton members, including Walsingham, have paid £115 and one promises £5, making another £120, while the adventures of Sir William Winter and his son are not stated³. The capital subscribed to the end of 1582 by the Southampton Company was under £700. The only additional subscriptions recorded are those of eight men, none of whom seem to belong to Southampton, certified by Gilbert on 26 May 1583, which amount to £276 13s. 4d.⁴ and bring the known total to under £1000. It is probable that the rest of the money necessary to equip the expedition was largely raised by Gilbert's relatives. Walter Raleigh was said, in May 1583, to have adventured £2000

¹ Documents nos. 83, 84, 103, pp. 247, 252, 342.

² Document no. 88, pp. 260-6.

³ Document no. 100, pp. 329-34. They probably comprised a part-share in the ship *Delight*. See below, p. 84.

⁴ Document no. 116, p. 374.

in a ship and its equipment¹. Sir John Gilbert was also a large subscriber, although the amount of his adventure is not recorded. It is safe to say that the expedition was under-capitalized. The long delays meant the wasting of supplies, and this helped to determine Gilbert's route and contributed to the failure of the expedition.

Gilbert, as has been stated, originally hoped to leave in 1582. Provision was made for the succession to Sir John Gilbert's estates of Sir Humphrey and his heirs in May 1582². On 28 August he made his will and added a codicil on 12 December, dividing his interest in the Southampton Company between his wife and children³. The preliminary constitution of the company was laid down on 2 November⁴, and completed, except for the insertion of certain names, on 12 December 1582. By the latter date his preparations were so far advanced that he could deliver sealed instructions for the voyage, his map, and other documents to the custody of three of the Southampton members of the company⁵.

He was in London at the beginning of February 1583 and there a fresh obstruction to his plans presented itself. Walsingham wrote to inform Gilbert that the Queen desired him not to accompany his expedition, on the grounds that he was 'a man noted of not good happ by sea'. Gilbert replied in a bitter letter on 7 February. He told Walsingham that he had spent his property in preparing the expedition and that he was now being hindered in an honest attempt to earn his living overseas. He repudiated any suggestion, whether such had been made or not, that he was unskilful at sea, cowardly, or too dainty in his diet and liable to seasickness, to undertake the voyage. The only reason, he asserted, why he had not left during the winter was on account of prevailing south-west winds which made it impossible for the ships to put to sea⁶. Elizabeth changed her mind and gave her permission for Gilbert to leave. On 16 March she

¹ Document no. 112, p. 365.

² Indenture of 21 May 1582, recited in Inquisition Post Mortem on Sir John Gilbert of 7 April 1597, C 142/249, 80.

³ Document no. 101, pp. 335-9.

⁴ Document no. 99, pp. 313-26.

⁵ Document no. 100, pp. 326-35.

⁶ Document no. 102, pp. 339-41.

sent him, by Walter Raleigh, her good wishes for the voyage, and a token, 'an ancor guyded by a Lady'. She also wished him to leave his portrait with Raleigh for her¹. He was clearly expected to leave before the end of March², but there were further delays, and he had not left Southampton by 26 May. Early in June he set out, and, after putting in at Causand Bay in Devonshire, departed on 11 June.

Gilbert's fleet at his departure comprised five vessels³. The *Squirrel* was his own and was presumably the boat that crossed the Atlantic, although it is possible that she was the frigate bought from the Fenton expedition⁴ and re-named after the other vessel for good luck. The *Swallow* was also Gilbert's after a fashion. At some time shortly before his departure he had encountered his old antagonist John Callis in the Channel, just after he had taken two French prizes. These he released, but he seized Callis' own ship the *Swallow* and retained the vessel and its crew for the American voyage. The vessel had belonged to a Scottish merchant and had been taken from him by Callis. Shortly after Gilbert left, the Privy Council sent out a series of inquiries as to what had become of this vessel⁵. Sir John Gilbert declared afterwards that she had been prized and sold, and Sir Humphrey clearly considered her his own property, but the Admiralty Court took a contrary view in 1584⁶. The *Golden Hind*, alias the *Samuel* of Weymouth, had been owned in 1579 by Christopher Carleill and Bernard Mayor of Weymouth⁷, and had been involved in piracy in 1580 and 1581⁸. Luke Ward tried to attach her for a debt due from Mayor towards the end of 1581,⁹ but he, and probably Carleill, had sold out to Edward Hayes by the beginning of 1582¹⁰. Hayes describes himself in 1583 as owner and captain. Her master was that William Cox of Limehouse, whose name Mendoza had linked with Gilbert's in

¹ Document no. 106, p. 348.

² Documents nos. 105, 107, pp. 347, 349.

³ The list of ships in Hayes' narrative. Document no. 124, p. 396.

⁴ Document no. 80, p. 244.

⁵ Document no. 117, p. 375.

⁶ Documents nos. 128, 129, 130, pp. 428-31.

⁷ HCA 38/9 (1 April 1579); HCA 3/18 (1 July 1579).

⁸ HCA 38/9 (27 April 1580); HCA 14/21, 203 (24 April 1581).

⁹ HCA 14/21, 92; 144 (21 November 1581-10 March 1582).

¹⁰ HCA 24/52, 145 (20 January 1582).

1578.¹ The *Bark Raleigh* was Walter Raleigh's adventure in the voyage. Hayes describes the admiral, in which Gilbert sailed, the *Delight*, *alias* the *George*—as owned and commanded by William Winter, who was the son of Sir William Winter, surveyor of the navy; but it is clear that she was at least partly owned by Sir John Gilbert². The vessels carried some 260 men, including many craftsmen, and had a good stock of goods for trade with whatever natives might be encountered³.

The story of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's last voyage is told in detail in the well-known account of Edward Hayes, first published by Hakluyt in 1589⁴, supplemented by a few lesser narratives, dealing with particular episodes⁵. Hayes' narrative is well-written and is, apparently, a careful and accurate description based, in part at least, on the log of the *Golden Hind*.

According to Hayes, although elaborate arrangements had been made to keep the vessels in touch with one another, no decision was taken until the last moment about the route they should adopt. Their decision to make for Newfoundland and work south, instead of following an opposite course, was taken because the expedition was badly provisioned and it was expected to re-victual from the fishing fleets on the Newfoundland Banks. At midnight on 13 June the *Bark Raleigh* turned back and put into Plymouth, Hayes thought because of sickness among the crew, but, according to one of the sailors, 'for want of victualls to performe the viadge'⁶. Gilbert was furious and wrote to Peckham to get Raleigh to punish the crew⁷. The remaining four vessels kept together until 23 July⁸, when the *Delight* and the *Golden Hind* lost sight of the others. The former made land at Newfoundland, well to the north and came down along the coast, passing Penguin Island (Fogo Island), into Conception Bay, meeting the *Swallow* and the *Squirrel* outside

¹ Document no. 29, p. 194; see pp. 39-40, above.

² See Document no. 128, p. 428. R. G. Marsden in a list of shipping (National Maritime Museum MS. 1170) gives her owner as Sir John Gilbert and her captain as John Chidley, but attaches no date or reference.

³ Document no. 102, p. 339.

⁴ Document no. 124, pp. 385-423.

⁵ Document nos. 120, 121, 122, 125, 126, 130, 132, pp. 378-83, 423-31, 444-6.

⁶ Document no. 120, pp. 378-9.

⁷ Document no. 122, p. 383.

⁸ Document no. 121, p. 380.

the harbour of St. John's. The *Swallow*, manned by a pirate crew, had robbed a ship they had met on their way, in order to supply the men with clothes and food which they lacked.

The fishing fleets were inside the harbour and consisted of some twenty Spanish¹ and Portuguese and sixteen French and English ships, and had an English admiral², a post which the captains apparently took in turn. When Gilbert made to enter the harbour on 3 August he was faced with the threat of resistance by the fishing fleet, but was finally admitted, after preparing for action, by shewing his royal commission—probably the patent of 1578. The explanation of the fishermen's action is to be found in an episode which occurred in August 1582. Henry Oughtred, a prominent merchant of Southampton, had sent out his own ship, the *Susan Fortune*, and one of Sir John Perrot's, the *Popinjay*, heavily armed, to take prizes off Newfoundland. They seized and robbed three Portuguese ships and carried one back to England, loaded with fish. The masters of the English and French vessels were too weak to resist, but they protested and the master of the *Susan* declared that he had letters from the Queen and Privy Council to take Spanish and Portuguese ships. The masters combined to equip the Portuguese masters with a testimonial, which enabled them to start proceedings in the Admiralty Court in England³.

Gilbert, having arrived at Newfoundland, was determined to claim that the island came within the scope of his patent and to

¹ The Spanish fishery appears to have reached its peak about 1580 and was confined mainly to wet fishing, which may in part explain lack of settlement. The decline after 1580 is attributable to Spanish import regulations, lack of an adequate ship-building industry in the Basque provinces, and to English raids on the fishing fleet. See Innis, 'Rise and fall of the Spanish fishery in Newfoundland,' in *Proc. & Trans. Royal Soc. of Canada*, series 3, xxv (1931). Section 2, pp. 51-70.

² Hayes says (p. 400) that the admirals were always chosen from the English captains, but in August 1582 the admiral was Dorrington Hewes, captain of a French ship of Bayonne. Deposition of Thomas Peers, 25 April 1583. HCA 13/24.

³ During the case Oughtred alleged he had letters of marque from Dom Antonio, but failed to produce them. He eventually produced a commission from Alençon, dated July 1582 (after the ships had set out). The documents are to be found in BM, Cotton MS. Otho E. VIII, f. 120v; SP 12/151, 36; 153, 73; 165, 38, 40, 41; SP 94/1 (9 November 1582); HCA 3/18 (3 April

assert his authority over the fishermen. Actually they appear to have organised themselves very amicably and effectively prior to his arrival. The admiral and the masters adjudicated on disputes and established a round of social visits from ship to ship. The drying stages on shore were systematically assigned and, according to Hayes, the seamen had begun to plant peas when they arrived in May and had them ripe by August.

The first step which Gilbert took to assert his authority over this curious little international community was to requisition from the ships a supply of fish and food for his men. The fishermen were generous, but apparently got nothing in return except vague promises of future benefits. Then on 5 August Gilbert landed and, calling the fishermen and sailors together, took possession of the harbour and the land within two hundred leagues of it in the Queen's name, in virtue of his patent. He then proceeded to announce three 'laws' for the government of the island, the earliest legislation for an English possession in America, the first being that the public exercise of religion should be according to the Church of England, the second, that anyone who should attempt to prejudice the Queen's right to possession should be tried according to English law, and the third, that anyone speaking to the dishonour to the Queen should lose his ship and his ears. The fishermen, according to Hayes, assented to these proceedings, and Gilbert had a pillar erected, with the English arms, in lead, attached to it. After this ceremonial, which is of some antiquarian interest, Gilbert went on to lease drying grounds to the fisherman in fee farm, getting them to promise to pay him rents¹. Their promises, we may

1583); 3/19 (30 April 1583-18 February 1584); 13/24 (25 April 1583, Thomas Peers; 26 April, William Dill; 27 April, John Heimers); 13/25 (16 October 1583, Paulus Dies; 17 October, John Ortize and Peter Serano; 6 November, P. de Subeanre; 8 November, Henry Billingsly and Alonso de Bastarto; 9 November, Richard Staper); 38/9 (27 December 1582).

¹ Anspach (*History of Newfoundland* (1819), pp. 59-60) has a story to the effect that in 1582 Sir Thomas Hampshire was sent by Elizabeth with five ships 'to secure to every master of a fishing crew the property of that fishing room which he made the object of his choice so long as he kept it employed for the uses of the fishery'. No evidence has been found to support this statement and it may be only a garbled version of Gilbert's action in 1583.

assume, were made on the assumption that Gilbert was not likely to be able to collect his rents very regularly.

The greater part of the fortnight following was spent in prospecting and the results pleased Gilbert so much that he told Hayes on the homeward journey 'that this voyage had wonne his heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northerne man altogether'¹. Hayes has much to say on the economic resources of Newfoundland, but to the Hungarian, Stephen Parmenius, it was 'nothing but a very wilderness' set in seas swarming with fish². Besides exploring, Gilbert had maps made and got his Saxon miner, Daniel, to bring away promising specimens of ore, of which he had great hopes.

A considerable number of the men, including the captains of the *Delight* and *Squirrel*, William Winter and William Andrewes, refused to accompany Gilbert further on his voyage. Many were also too ill for further hardships, so Gilbert decided to leave the *Swallow* behind to transport them to England. He had apparently no money to pay for provisions for them so he made an arrangement with a certain Richard Boyse, who had, that he should provide them with money and that he should have the *Swallow* in payment after they returned to England³.

The fleet, now reduced to three ships, set out on 20 August, Gilbert travelling in the *Squirrel*. The immediate objective was Sable Island, where the Portuguese had established swine and cattle and where they expected to get fresh meat. The ultimate object was to make the coast of the American mainland and work down towards the south, prospecting. After eight days very slow progress there was a dispute between Gilbert and the masters of the *Delight* and *Golden Hind* as to the direction to be taken. Against their advice Gilbert insisted on going west-north-west. It is evident that all concerned were rather confused about their exact position, and probably the seamanship on the

¹ Document no. 124, p. 418. See also his letter from Newfoundland to Peckham. Document no. 122, p. 383.

² Document no. 121, p. 381.

³ That at least was Boyse's story, which is not corroborated. Document no. 130, pp. 429-30.

Delight was not very good, for the fleet ran into shallow water and the *Delight* struck and was wrecked¹. Over eighty men were drowned and the *Golden Hind* and *Squirrel* failed to locate the sixteen survivors who got away in a pinnace. After a grim journey of seven days, during which several died, they reached Newfoundland and worked their way along the coast until they were taken off by a Basque ship. They were brought to St. Jean de Luz and made their way through France to England, arriving towards the end of the year. Gilbert lost all his maps and notes, as well as the ore, in the wreck of the *Delight*.

There has been some controversy as to the place where the *Delight* was wrecked. Richard Clarke assumed it to be Sable Island, while Hayes did not commit himself, but gave two series of reckonings kept by the master and master's mate of the *Golden Hind* for the course from Cape Race 'Towards Cape Briton, and the Island of Sablon'. Gosling had the courses worked out by a sailor and concluded that the *Delight* was wrecked at the north-east end of Sable Island, while Patterson, making certain allowances for Hayes' errors in latitude, decided that the wreck took place on Cape Breton Island, fourteen miles south of Louisbourg on the western side of the entrance to Gabarus Bay, and refers to a sixteenth century cannon found on the spot².

There was such disappointment in the remaining two vessels and such a shortage of supplies that the crews insisted on returning to England, so that on 31 August they retraced their course. Gilbert refused to leave the *Squirrel* for the larger vessel, though he paid several visits to Hayes. In their conversation Gilbert, although disappointed at his failure, brought forward new projects with great enthusiasm. Two fleets should be despatched the next spring, one to the north led by himself, and one to the south led by Hayes. Hayes was sceptical of the value of further voyages and of the chances of raising money for them, but Gilbert was confident that the Queen would lend him £10,000. He

¹ Hakluyt, writing about August 1584, blames Clarke, the master, for her loss. Taylor, *Hakluyts*, p. 272. Clarke's vindication is Document no. 125.

² Gosling, p. 258; Patterson, 'Termination of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition,' in *Proc. & Trans. Royal Soc. of Canada*, series 2, III (1897). Section 2, 113-27, and see *ibid.*, series 1, IX (1891). Section 2, 173-343; series 2, II (1896). Section 2, 33-9.

again refused, at his last visit, to leave the *Squirrel*, which came alongside the larger ship for the last time on Monday, 9 September, when Gilbert sitting reading, shouted the tag 'we are as neere to heaven by sea as by land'¹. The same night the lights of the *Squirrel* went out and she and Gilbert were never seen again.

Hayes made Falmouth on 22 September and then proceeded to Dartmouth where he reported on the voyage and on the disappearance of the *Squirrel* to Sir John Gilbert. Then, according to his story, the men insisted on his rapid departure to Weymouth, as they did not want to be discharged as far away from their homes as Devonshire. It is possible that, in fact, their eagerness to get away was due to other reasons, for a French ship was seized, robbed and carried away to Poole about this time 'by an English ship retorning from Terra Florida & newe lande'². Whether Hayes was involved in this or not he got in touch with Sir George Peckham during October and made a report to him of what had happened on the voyage³. The sailors left in Newfoundland apparently did not return to England in the *Swallow*, but left her there and informed Sir John Gilbert on their return in time for him to send out for her and bring her to Cornwall before the end of the year. In the following spring Richard Boyse put in an appearance to claim her. He had gone from Newfoundland in the *Delight* and was one of those who succeeded in escaping from the wreck. The ownership of the *Swallow* was disputed in the Admiralty Court in April 1584. Sir John Gilbert opposed Boyse's claim because he had re-built the vessel and sent her off to Newfoundland, probably on a fishing voyage. The admiralty judge was evidently of opinion that the vessel belonged to the Crown, as she had been originally taken from the pirate Callis, but decided that Boyse should have her for the time being, under a bond of £140 to deliver her again if another decision was reached. Walsingham and Walter

¹ In More, *Utopia*, p. 30 (Arber's reprint) it reads 'He that hathe no grave is covered with the skye: and, the way to heaven out of all places is of like length and distance.'

² 'A note of the depredations wherein those of poole are touched,' SP 78/10, 120. See also *CSP For. Jan.-June 1583 and addenda*, no. 343.

³ Document no. 132, p. 444. William Cox, Hayes' master, also communicated with Peckham, see p. 461.

Raleigh wrote to the judge on Sir John Gilbert's behalf and we also hear of a Scottish claimant, the owner of the ship before Callis had her. The final decision of the court has not been found¹.

10. THE AFTERMATH

The disaster to Sir Humphrey Gilbert did not end the attempt to colonise America, for the projects which he had set in motion before he left England were carried on after his departure. In July 1583 Sir Philip Sidney and Sir George Peckham joined forces, and Sidney made Peckham a token grant of 30,000 acres from the 3,000,000 previously assigned to him by Gilbert². Walsingham apparently agreed to assist them in attempting to collect money for a new expedition, which seems no longer to have had any particular association with the Catholics except through the person of Sir George Peckham. A draft of a circular letter, prepared by him, was designed to stimulate persons and corporations, with which Sidney and Peckham had got in touch through Anthony Brigham, to contribute. If they wished they might have an association of their own 'without joigneing with anie gentlemen or anie other Citties or Townes other then suche as yourself shall make choise of'³.

Peckham's next step was to draw up 'Articles of Assurance, betweene the Principall assignes of Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight, and the foure sortes of adventurers, with them in the voyage for the Western Discoveries'⁴. They are very similar to the articles of 9 June 1582 previously described⁵, and provide for four classes of contributors—associates, assistants, adventurers in the first degree and adventurers in the second degree—adventuring, respectively, £100, £50, £25 10s. and £12 10s. The minimum adventure was thus raised from £5 to £12 10s. The amount of land to be assigned to adventurers was increased, and those who

¹ Documents nos. 128, 129, 130, pp. 428–31.

² Document no. 119, pp. 376–8. Only the draft has survived, but the reading is clearly 'xxxm'. It has been generally assumed (*e.g.* by Gosling, p. 199) that Sidney transferred the whole of his grant to Peckham.

³ Document no. 118, pp. 375–6.

⁴ Document no. 132, pp. 477–80.

⁵ p. 74 above. See Document no. 87, pp. 257–60.

went on the expedition were to have special benefits. Members of Gilbert's expedition were also to have special terms. The first expedition under this agreement was to leave before 20 March 1584. To promote subscriptions Peckham compiled his *True reporte, of the late discoveries*, dating the prefatory letter to Walsingham from Oxford on 12 November 1583, and probably having it published before the end of the year. He began by giving some account of Gilbert's voyage, derived from Hayes, and went on to say that a new expedition was being prepared to go to plant between latitudes 30° and 60° N. He proceeded to stress the desirability of colonisation, not only for trade, but to extend Christianity to the natives, although if they resisted the white settlers the use of force was justified. The 'lawfull tittle' of the Crown of England to the territories is stressed, and the commercial advantages of colonisation dealt with on familiar lines. He then addressed a special appeal to 'the Noblemen and Gentlemen, who doo cheefely seeke a temperate climate, hole-some ayre, fertile soyle, and a strong place by nature, whereupon they may fortifie, and there either plant themselves, or such other persons as they shall thinke good to sende to be Lordes of that place and Country', pointing out the natural commodities of America as an inducement for landed settlement. He concluded with a long series of illustrations from Spanish colonial history, tending to prove that colonisation can be carried through cheaply and effectively.

The pamphlet displays a good deal of knowledge of recent travels to America, largely derived from the discussions of 1582 and probably, in particular, from the younger Hakluyt. It also shows Peckham had done a fair amount of reading in geographical literature. It is interlarded with classical and biblical examples and compares unfavourably in directness and force with Carleill's pamphlet of April 1583, particularly in the frequent emphasis on the righteousness of 'improving' and converting the natives by white settlement. At the end Peckham included a copy of the 'Articles of Assurance'.

Some indication of the measure of support which Peckham expected to mobilise may be found in the names attached to the laudatory poems prefixed to the tract. They comprise Sir

William Pelham, Sir Francis Drake, John Hawkins, Richard Bingham, Martin Frobisher, John Chester, Mathew Roydon, Anthony Parkhurst, Arthur Hawkins and John Ashley, and it is likely that Peckham had got, or expected, subscriptions from them¹. He had acquired at least one ship, the *Emanuel* of Yarmouth, before 25 September, but there had apparently been some difficulty over his payment for it or its delivery and an action was commenced in the Admiralty Court between Peckham and Robert Salmon of Lee, sailor, which dragged on until at least January 1584 and of which the result has not been found².

Peckham's search for subscriptions can be traced in at least one instance. On 8 December 1582 Walsingham had written to the Mayor of Exeter asking for support for Gilbert's expedition, but apparently no offer of support had been forthcoming. Then on 14 December 1583 Sir George Peckham wrote again for support for his venture and this time the Mayor transmitted both letters to the Merchant Adventurers of Exeter for their consideration. At a special court, held on 4 January 1584, general approval of the project was forthcoming, but the merchants were of the opinion that the time was not suitable for the preparation of shipping and that they would defer their participation until the next year³. However, Peckham followed up his letter by sending an agent, Oliver Manwayringe, to ask for subscriptions and at another court on 11 January he expounded Peckham's project to the merchants 'And shewed forth certen lettres patent for the assuraunce of the benefeicte of the saide adventurers, and a booke towching the discription and order of the saide pretended voyage'⁴. His arguments induced the company to agree to make a contribution after they had discussed details with the mayor and aldermen of Exeter, and on 30 Janu-

¹ The *True reporte* is Document no. 132, pp. 435-80.

² The warrant for arrest of the ship is in HCA 38/9 (25 September 1583), and entries of proceedings in HCA 3/19 (29 October, 4 November, 12 November, 2 December, 14 January and 20 January 1583-4).

³ Probably not until 1585, but until after the new year beginning 25 March 1584.

⁴ The 'lettres patent' were either a copy of Gilbert's patent or a copy of Gilbert's assignments to Peckham. The 'booke' was almost certainly a copy of the *True reporte*.

ary a further court met, with Manwayringe again present, to receive subscriptions. However, only seven men came forward and offered £12 10s. each, £87 10s. in all¹, as 'Adventurers in the second degree'. Nothing further is to be found in the Exeter records regarding this and it is not known whether the sums were ever paid.

Almost nothing further is known of Peckham's project, although it appears likely that Martin Frobisher was intended to lead his first expedition. Richard Hakluyt, who had gone to France as chaplain to the English Ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford, in September 1583, wrote to Walsingham on 1 April 1584 and mentioned that he understood Frobisher was leaving for America at the beginning of May². Anthony Brigham, whether in association with Peckham or not, was preparing for a voyage to Newfoundland in the *Post of London* during the summer of 1584. About July he appointed Philip Smith master of the ship and hired a certain John Longe 'as a sayler onely for whale killinge wherein he was experimented'. Longe usurped Smith's functions and declared himself master, and, with some of the crew, plundered the ship and decamped. He was charged in October in the Admiralty Court. Harry Stephens of Exeter, Brigham's servant, asserted on 1 October that Brigham 'yet doth intende a viadge to the partes of newe founde lande'³. The reason for Peckham's relinquishment of the project was apparently his imprisonment for Catholic activities, at the instance of a certain John Nichols⁴. Sir Philip Sidney had not relinquished his connection with the American projects as late as 21 July 1584, when he wrote to Sir Edward Stafford 'We are haulf perswaded to enter into the journey of Sir Humphrey Gilbert very eagerly whereunto your Mr. Hackluit hath served for a very good Trumpet'⁵, but apparently Elizabeth refused him permission to go⁶.

¹ Document no. 133, pp. 480-2.

² Taylor, *Hakluyts*, p. 209.

³ HCA 13/25 (1 October 1584); HCA 3/19 (7 October).

⁴ Gillow, *Biographical dictionary of the English Catholics*, v, 253.

⁵ Sidney, *The defence of poesie* . . . *Correspondence*, p. 145.

⁶ Pollard, *History of England 1547-1603*, p. 376. The contemporary reference has not been found.

Gilbert's death offered Carleill an opportunity to revive his plans, and there are indications that he did so in association with his stepfather Walsingham, although there is no evidence that he renewed his negotiations with the Muscovy Company. Hakluyt collected information on America for him which he sent to Walsingham on 7 January 1584¹. He kept in touch with Carleill himself during the following months, and endeavoured to get financial support from the Genoese banker Palavicini. He sent further information for him to Walsingham on 1 April, although he thought it probable that he would have left by the time the letter arrived, and, if so, he wished Walsingham to communicate his news to Frobisher². On 24 April it was reported that 'the brother of Rale and the stepson of Walsingham have sailed with five ships for the Indies'³. On 15 May the same correspondent stated that the vessels had not yet left, but that John Hawkins was going with them and that they might not be going to the Indies but to 'Dricadas', wherever that might be⁴. John Hawkins was certainly concerned in fitting out a ship for on 20 July he wrote to Shrewsbury that their vessel, the *Bark Talbot*, was leaving for Newfoundland⁵. A rumour reached Middelburg by 26 July that Carleill had been captured off the coast of Brazil⁶.

Besides this tissue of rumour something can be learnt of Carleill's proceedings. He left England with three ships early in the summer and made for Cork. Some twenty sailors, including a certain John Poole, went to join him there, but found he had left by the time they arrived on 25 July⁷. Whatever Carleill's objective was when he left England, it is clear that after reaching Ireland he entered the service of the government there. His vessels, the *Johane*, the *Sea Mewe* and the *Dove*, a pinnace, with eighty men, were employed in the Irish service between 5 August and 29 September 1584. On 23 September Carleill went

¹ Taylor, *Hakluyts*, pp. 205-7.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 208-10.

³ Angel Angeliny to ? *CSP For.* July 1583-July 1584, no. 552.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 598.

⁵ Lodge, *Illustrations of British history*, III (1838). Separately paged list of Shrewsbury MSS, p. 51.

⁶ Angel Angeliny to ? *CSP For.* July 1583-July 1584, no 779.

⁷ HCA 1/42 (28 November 1584).

on shore as captain of 100 footmen and took up the post of commander at Coleraine¹. There is no record that he again revived his American venture.

Sir John Gilbert, as one of Sir Humphrey's chief supporters, had an interest in carrying on his project, and his sending out of the *Swallow* and another small bark to Newfoundland very early in 1584 may have some significance. Raleigh said the object was to make up for the losses sustained by the wreck of the *Delight*². He may have intended to enforce the rights claimed there by Sir Humphrey in 1583, but there is no evidence that more than a fishing voyage was intended. Bernard Drake of Ash, who was connected with the Grenville and Raleigh families³, was mentioned as the leader of a group of adventurers with Gilbert in December 1582⁴. There is no evidence that he attempted to take up any assignment made to him, but he later took part in a voyage to Newfoundland. On 20 June 1585 he was given a commission by the Queen to proceed to Newfoundland to inform the English fishermen that English merchants were being arrested in Spain and that they were not to take any fish there. He was also empowered to seize any Spanish ships he found there and bring them to England. He went out with the *Golden Royal* and other ships and made a big haul of Spanish vessels which he brought with him to England. He was acting in close association with Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir John Gilbert⁵. Edward Hayes, despite some disillusionment at Gilbert's failure, did not finally renounce interest in American projects, and in 1585 and 1586 he provided Burghley with elaborate plans for exploiting Newfoundland and its fisheries through a private corporation⁶.

The most important of those who attempted to carry on Gilbert's project, however, was Walter Raleigh. The return of his

¹ E 351/230; AO 1/284, 1074.

² Document no. 128, p. 428.

³ See 'Note on the arms of Sir Francis Drake,' in *The Herald and Genealogist* (ed. by J. G. Nichols), VIII (1874), 307-13.

⁴ Document no. 100, p. 333.

⁵ SP 12/179, 21, 22; SP 12/183, 13; HCA 23/3 (undated interrogatories by Amias Preston ex parte John Drake); Whitbourne, *A discourse and discovery of New-found-land*. He died on 14 April 1586. C 142/211, 175.

⁶ BM, Lansdowne MS. 37, ff. 166-7 (10 May 1585); Lansdowne MS. 100, ff. 83-94v (10 January-23 February 1586).

ship in June 1583 had prejudiced Gilbert's expedition, but he had thereby saved his capital for a new venture, and he first of all contemplated associating himself with his brother Adrian in a search for a North-west Passage, though he soon turned his attention to colonisation further south. In the spring of 1584 he was preparing shipping for a voyage, and arranging to get Gilbert's powers under the patent of 1578 transferred to him. On 25 March 1584 he was granted by patent powers almost identical with those granted to Gilbert, except that authority to exercise any monopoly over the Newfoundland fishery was specifically excluded¹. Amadas and Barlow, with Simon Fernandez as a 'pilot', were able to leave by 27 April, and their successful reconnaissance, completed in September, enabled Grenville to be despatched in April 1585 to establish the first English colony in Virginia².

It remains to indicate the results of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's grant to John Dee on 10 September 1580 of his rights to the lands above 50° N. There is no evidence that he attempted to exploit them until more than two years after the assignment was made. Dee, however, was closely associated with Adrian Gilbert and John Davis in his chemical, astrological and spiritualistic experiments³, and it is probable that he early took them into partnership for the exploitation of the northerly regions. It was not until 23 January 1583, when Walsingham visited Dee's house and found Adrian Gilbert there, that 'talk was begonne of Northwest straights discovery'⁴. Walsingham was sufficiently interested in Dee's ideas to make an appointment for him, Adrian Gilbert and John Davis to meet at the house of Robert

¹ Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, VIII (1904), pp. 289-96.

² Rowse, *Grenville*, pp. 193-204.

³ Two entries in Dee's 'Diary' (Bodleian, Ashmole MS. 487, printed by Halliwell, pp. 6-7) relate to them: 18 October 1579, 'Mr. Adrian Gilbert and John Davys reconcyled them selves to me, and disclosed somme of Emery his most dishonest, Hypocriticall, and devilish dealings and devises agaynst me and other and likewise of that errant strompet her abominable words and dedes And John Davis sayd that he might curse the tyme that ever he knew Emery and so much followed his wicked cownsayle and advyse &c. So just is god.'; and 3 June 1580, 'Mr A. Gilbert and J. Davys rid homeward into Devonshire.'

⁴ Document no. 136, p. 484.

Beale, Clerk of the Privy Council, the following day. When they met they informed Walsingham of the possibilities of a north-west passage 'and all chartes and rutters wer agreed upon in generall'¹.

During the next six weeks they made contact with the Muscovy Company, for whom Dee had already done some work in connection with the north-east voyage of 1580. On 6 March Dee, Gilbert and Davis met four leading members of the Muscovy Company, Barnes, Towerson, Young and Hudson, for discussions on the North-west Passage.² The object of the discussions must have been the old question which Gilbert had debated with the company in 1567—how far they insisted on their rights over the north-west regions and how far they would go in co-operating with an independent expedition. We know from their relations with Carleill that they were not nearly so likely to insist on humiliating conditions as they had been in 1567, but it seems extremely probable that Carleill's schemes held up any decision on their part regarding Dee's project, for there is nothing more in Dee's 'Diary' relating to it. Davis and Adrian Gilbert went off to Devonshire on 18 March³, but Gilbert was back with Dee at the beginning of May. There may have been no development in their plans as he set out on his return journey on 4 May⁴. It is possible, however, that his business in Devonshire was connected with preparing shipping for an expedition. In the intervals between these meetings Dee, through his medium, Edward Kelley, began to consult his 'supernatural' acquaintances on the subject of Adrian Gilbert's prospects, so that it would seem to have been decided that he should make the voyage. Dee's report of the séance is amusing⁵, for, when he ventured to ask what were Gilbert's chances of converting the heathen, he was snubbed by the question 'Who made thy mowth to propesy?', and when he inquired for geographical assistance he was told 'These things belong not to my charge. Thow knowest them which are sufficient, whom short time shall serve for the whole instruction'. Dee was preoccupied with these activities, which filled most of his time, but on 29 June

¹ Document no. 137, p. 484.

³ Halliwell, p. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

² Document no. 138, p. 484.

⁵ Document no. 139, pp. 484-5.

he entered in his report of the séances, 'Now I shall have leisure to follow my sute, and to do all Mr. Gilberts businesse'. The suit was, from the context, one to the Queen¹, and was probably connected with the north-west project. As he was writing to Adrian Gilbert to Devonshire three days later Kelley (through the 'spirit' Madini) brought up the subject again. Dee asked what were Walsingham's feelings towards him as he feared he had turned unfriendly. He was told, disconcertingly, that Walsingham and Burghley had both turned against him and proposed to search his house when Laski, a Polish nobleman, with whom Dee had made friends, had gone. Later Dee asked if he could have any information about Adrian Gilbert 'and his intended voyage'. He received the irrelevant reply, 'His is not of the true faith', and when Dee went on to inquire how then could he bring God's faith to the infidels, he was told 'That is a mystery'². It is not unlikely that Walsingham had little time for Dee while Carleill's project was hanging fire. Dee spent much of his time in the following months with the Pole Laski, and in September decided to accompany him to the continent. He left England on 21 September 1583 and remained out of the country for some years and so lost touch with the discoveries. Before he left it appears that he made over his assignment under Sir Humphrey Gilbert's patent to Adrian Gilbert and John Davis.

Dee's interest in the North-west Passage was theoretical and, potentially, financial and he had evidently left the practical business of obtaining a licence to set out and of finding subscribers and fitting out ships to Adrian Gilbert. The chronology of the three documents connected with the latter, prior to the issue of a patent, is conjectural. The earliest is a series of memoranda which most probably fits into the months between January and September 1583³. The notes are a record of steps which should be taken before a voyage can be put in hand. The first is to obtain a patent from the Crown on the lines of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's patent of 1578, and this should be followed by getting a licence from the Muscovy Company, giving Adrian

¹ Meric. Casaubon, *A true and faithfull relation of what passed for many yeeres between Dr. John Dee and some spirits* (1659), p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, p. 28. The date is 2 July.

³ Document no. 140, pp. 485-6.

Gilbert and his associates a twenty years' monopoly of the north-west discoveries. When this is done adventurers must be found, two ships chosen, sixty mariners selected and provision made for victualling the vessels and stocking them with merchandise. London and Dartmouth should be made staples for imports by the new route. The last note, 'To sende for A. B. owt of hand', suggests a possible link between Adrian Gilbert and Anthony Brigham, who had been working as a propagandist for Sir George Peckham.

The second document¹ bears distinct traces of Dee's style and it includes John Dee and John Davis with Adrian Gilbert as persons to be specially privileged, so that its date is probably before Dee's departure on 21 September. It is a draft of the patent which the projectors desired to have from the Crown, for a corporation called by the grandiloquent name of 'the Collegats or the fellowshippe of New Navigations Atlanticall and Septentrionall'. They desired to have for this corporation the right to discover and occupy all lands 'between the aequinoctiall lyne & the North Pole', to exclude all others from trade with the northern parts, and to have freedom of custom in England for Adrian Gilbert, Dee and Davis and their heirs. London and Dartmouth were to be the sole staples for trade with the northern parts and they agreed to pay the Crown one-fifth of the gold, precious stones, etc., found. The document, however, was not made out in due legal form. The next document² is more businesslike, but it is unlikely that it is an official draft. It is, like the preceding, more like a petition in the form of the patent desired. In the name proposed for the corporation—'the Colliges of the dyscovery of the north west passage'—may be seen its somewhat more limited scope. The staple towns are increased by the addition of Plymouth, and one-tenth of gold and precious stones is to be paid to the Crown. Dee's name disappears from the draft and in his place appears Walter Raleigh, who had apparently not yet decided on a southern venture. Special customs privileges are asked for Gilbert, Raleigh and Davis for sixty years.

The patent eventually issued on 6 February 1584³ named only

¹ Document no. 141, pp. 486-8.

² Document no. 142, pp. 488-9.

³ Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, VII (1903), 375-81.

Adrian Gilbert and specified the objectives of the corporation as the discovery of a passage to China and the Moluccas by the north, north-west or north-east. It was to have power to occupy lands discovered on the passage and to exclude non-members from the trade, but the duration of the patent was limited to five years. The three staples suggested in the previous document were named, but no special customs privileges were granted. The patent left the way open for the wider grant which Raleigh obtained in April, and led to a series of brilliant exploring voyages by John Davis, beginning in 1585, although to no discovery of the much desired passage.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's activities and projects, under the patent of 1578, led directly to three important developments shortly after his death, firstly, the establishment of the first English colony in Virginia, secondly, the stimulation of a new interest in the Newfoundland fishery and the planning of the systematic development of the fishery and of the island, and thirdly, the most thorough attempts made in the sixteenth century to discover a North-west Passage round America. Apart from these, his projects had helped to bring into existence an interest in and knowledge of North America and the prospects of establishing colonies there, although the full effects of his work were retarded by the Spanish wars and were not brought to fruition until the early years of the seventeenth century.

11. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

Of his appearance we know from contemporaries only that Gilbert was above the average height and that he was red-complexioned¹. The only portrait which has survived, and which may have been painted after his death, shows a man with a detached and calculating expression², while the engraving printed by Holland in 1620³ makes him more handsome than interesting. In the documents which have survived concerning him he gives the impression of a man preoccupied with the projects which filled so much of his life, but with a reserve of the brutal ruthlessness typical of his age, which he showed in his

¹ Document no. 131, p. 431.

² Frontispiece to vol. I.

³ Frontispiece to vol. II.

'Irish fury' of 1569. His impatience of criticism and his sudden and sometimes vindictive outbursts of temper suggest, however, that he was, in reality, somewhat thin-skinned, and somewhat doubtful, fundamentally, of his own capacities. He was restless and ill-at-ease in his military activities, when under the command of another, and at the same time he was too impatient to make a good leader himself for long¹. In his own projects, however, he was capable of tremendous persistence and outstanding obstinacy. If he was vain and boastful, he was capable of a reckless personal bravery, and was ready to accept any challenge which cast doubts on his capacity. Although he is not known to have composed any purely imaginative literature, he had, occasionally, a turn for a brilliant phrase, and he showed in the only project of his whose object was not the gaining of wealth or power, namely the project for a new university, a real appreciation of education and scholarship. According to Hooker 'he had an excellent and readie wit and therewith a toong at libertie to utter what he thought'.

He evidently made both a very strong and a very favourable impression both on Churchyard² and Hooker³, but he exercised

¹ The only book which belonged to him and has survived, so far as has been traced, is a copy of Giacomo Lanteri, *De subtilitate ac stratagemate utenda in rebus bellicis*, of the Venice edition of 1571, which is now in the National Maritime Museum. It is possible that he acquired it during the Netherlands expedition of 1572. It bears his signature, and the motto 'Quid Non', with the device of a jewel.

Gilbert may have helped to introduce a new method of military discipline. William Camden wrote to Edward Cecil, 'I remember, that after Captain Morgan in the year 1572 had first carried to Flushing 300 English and had procured Sir Humfrey Gilbert to bring over more, and to be Colonel of the English there, a new military discipline was shortly after brought in, and the new march, by some that had served the Duke of Alva, and were entertained especially by the important instance of Sir Roger Williams, although strong opposition was then against it by Captain Pykeman, and after by Captain Read, ancient leaders, and Sir William Pelham, who were scornfully termed by the contrary party, Saint Georges Souldados; and Sir John Smith, who had served under the Constable Momorancy, twice in Hungary, at Penon de Velez, and Malta, yea and under Dalva, encountered with his pen against the new discipline, and did write much, which was never published.' William Camden, *V. cl. Gulielmi Camdeni, et illustrium virorum ad G. Camdemum epistolae* (1691), pp. 350-1.

² Notably in the *Generall rehearsall of warres*.

³ Document no. 131, pp. 431-4.

over the two men who wrote most freely of him from personal experience, Sir Roger Williams¹ and Edward Hayes², a curious mixture of attraction and repulsion. Hayes, in particular, was impressed by his intrepid curiosity and at the same time disliked his vindictive temper, considered his headstrongness foolish and his willingness to stake other men's lives and fortunes, as well as his own, on an almost hopeless gamble, almost criminal. Sir Thomas Smith in 1572 gave him the same sort of mixed testimonial. In a letter to Burghley he said 'Suerly in the handy work [he] is one of the best that I have sene but in the rest' unsound and brimful of fickleness and bragging and overflowing with vanity ('οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς plaenissimus Inconstantiae, jactantia, profusionis vanitatis'), and in a later letter to Medley, the alchemist, he tried to induce the latter to have patience with him, for 'His natuer is as good as eny gentleman in England as sone as he is owt of his stormes'³.

Gilbert was in character and interests very typical of his period. Strype described him as 'a learned knight and of a projecting head'⁴, and it is his interest in 'projects' which is characteristic of his period and which dominates so much of those parts of his life on which there is any information. He was born and grew up in a time of rapid social change when a strong state structure was being fashioned which created innumerable opportunities for individual enterprise within it and under its protection. The country gentry were ceasing to be merely agriculturists and were reaching out for the prizes which lay open to some of them in the new state. Gilbert exhibited an intellectual curiosity and a desire for power and wealth, coupled with considerable physical energy, which made him dissatisfied both with the quiet existence of a country landlord and with his only trade, that of arms. As a younger son he had small resources until his marriage, except what he earned as a soldier, and he reacted rapidly to the atmosphere of speculation in the

¹ *The actions of the Lowe Countries.*

² Document no. 124.

³ SP 70/146, 13, pp. 13, 113. In the earlier letter, possibly in jest, he indicates a leaning in Gilbert towards homosexuality, but he may have derived this from Medley as the latter makes similar suggestions in letters to Burghley (SP 12/86, 14, 44) at a time when he had fallen out with Gilbert.

⁴ *Life of Sir Thomas Smith* (1820), p. 101.

capital where the winning of fortunes by royal favour or by the discovery of new worlds or riches was a perpetual topic of discussion. Like most men of his age he was credulous, accepting in his scheme for a North-west Passage discovery many transparent fictions, and believing in alchemy and spiritualism, but what distinguishes him is the persistence of his belief that fortune lay for him in the New World. For some eighteen years he returned time after time to projects for opening up trade routes, supplanting the Spaniards in the West Indies and planting colonies in North America. The desire for landed power which inspired so many of his contemporaries was focussed for him first in Ireland and then across the Atlantic. He was not original in his desire to establish colonies in Ireland and America. There were innumerable projects for the plantation of Ireland during his period. French pioneers first attempted the colonisation of North America, and Stukeley and Grenville both anticipated him in certain respects in projects for overseas settlement. But the details which he worked out for his last expedition are his chief memorial. He was the first to envisage clearly the possibilities which the vast lands of North America offered to men of his class and interests to establish themselves as landed monopolists on a vast scale, and he thus was a forerunner alike of the corporate colonising companies like the Virginia Company and of the owners of proprietary colonies such as the Calvert family in the following century.

In colonisation his practice was not equal to his projects and he achieved for himself nothing but failure. The greatest weakness in his schemes was lack of adequate capital. He could not find subscribers who had sufficient confidence in him to put up large sums of money. In any case colonisation was a more difficult speculation than he and his contemporaries realized. A corporate enterprise such as he envisaged required not only a large initial expenditure but the sinking of considerable sums after the establishment of the settlement without any appreciable return for a number of years. It demanded also greater application than his colonists are likely to have shown. Even if he had succeeded in leaving colonists in America the probabilities are that the history of the settlement would have been

as disastrous as that of Raleigh's. It needed further experience, much greater capitalization than was easy in the sixteenth century and a determination on the part of the colonists to work hard for their living and not lie about and wait for gold to flow into their laps, before English colonies were successfully established in America.

CHAPTER I
THE NORTH-WEST PROJECT
1565-67

Quid non?

Motto of SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

[1565]. PETITION FROM HUMPHREY GILBERT TO THE QUEEN¹.

To the Quenes most excellent majestie our dread sovereign ladie.

P LEASETH it your majestie, That whereas of longe tyme, there hath bin nothinge saide or donne concerninge the discoveringe of a passage by the Northe, to go to Cataia, & all other the east partes of the worlde / These are moste humblie to besече your majestie that I may have the same priveleged / accordinge to the articles followinge, and I nothinge doubtinge the good successe / doe meane god willinge, to make tryall thereof, at myne owne costes & charges with the help of my freindes / & suche as by my procurement, will assiste me in that behalf / Hopinge that your highnes will farther the same / Beinge to the greate honour, profytt, & strength, bothe of your majestie & also your realme withoute burdeninge of eyther, or Injuringe any christian prince, by crossinge any of them, in any theire trades or otherwyse /

1. First, none to go, or by any adventure, or procurement, to furnyshe, or sett forthe any others, to passe to any parte of the worlde, through this undiscoveryd passage, Uppon paine of confyscation, of the goodes (so adventred) to my use, with farther punyshment at your majestes pleasure / Except suche as

¹ BM. Add. MS. 4159, no. 392. The date is between June 1565 and March 1566, most probably the autumn of 1565. Printed by Morgan and Coote, II, 178-9, and Slafter, pp. 183-4.

shalbe by me duringe my lyff made Free thereof, and the same to extend to them & all the heires of their bodies for ever /

2. Secondly, my self & my ii brothers, duringe the naturall lives of us & all those that shall lyneally dyscend & succeed any of us / to adventure in the same, for ever / from tyme to tyme, at our pleasures, Annsweringe all customes accordinge to the rates nowe used & not otherwyse¹ /

3. Thirdely, that I maie have², to my use for the terme of ^{xx} iiiix yers³, the vth⁴ parte of the customes of the marchaundize returned by meanes of this discoverye⁵ /

Endorsed:—Humfreye Gilberte.

2. [APRIL 1566]. ANTHONY JENKINSON TO [SIR WILLIAM CECIL]⁶.

Pleaseth it your honour that wheras I did of long tyme sue to have the passage discovered to Cataia, and as yet never had any direct answeere of the same. Mr. Gilbert and I (havige sins sondry tymes discoursed therof, and nothing dubting the good successe) do meane (god willing) to make tryall of the same at our owne costes and charges, with the help of such as by our procurement shall assist us in that behalf, Yf it maye please her majestie to prevelige us for the terme of our lyves or the longer

¹ *Crossed out*:—‘all waies discharginge the same freyghtes / within some parte of your highnes dominions, Except enforced by myshapp to the contrarie’.

² *Crossed out*:—‘to the use of me the heires of my bodie for ever’.

³ These words are inserted in a different hand which is probably Humphrey Gilbert’s.

⁴ ‘x’ is rubbed out and ‘v’ inserted.

⁵ This draft petition is among the collections of Thomas Birch. As Birch was in touch with Gilbert’s descendant, Pomeroy Gilbert, Fort Major of Plymouth, about the middle of the eighteenth century, and got from him copies of four letters from Raleigh to members of the Gilbert family (Add. MS. 4231, f. 85), it is probable that he obtained this document from the same source. This is the more likely as Pomeroy Gilbert disposed of the originals of fifteen Raleigh letters from the Gilbert family records. See S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of medieval and renaissance manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, I, 118; II, 1732.

⁶ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, Additional, SP 15/13, 69. Written shortly before his departure for Russia on 4 May 1566. Printed by Morgan and Coote, II, 177–8.

lyver of either of us, accordinge to the articles hereafter following.

First, none to go to any parte of the worlde through the passage by us or by our order discovered, uppon payne of confiscation of bodye, goodes and landes, to us and our uses, during our lyves or the longer lyver of either of us, savinge such as shalbe made fre by us according to the privelege of all our discoveries.

Secondlye, ourselves to trade costome fre without any prescrybed somme, and all such as are lynially discended of eyther of our houses from our fathers to be fre for ever, and to trafficke their owne stockes, or to the somm of five hondreth powndes stocke of any other mans without paing any costome.

Thirdly, that all they that shalbe fre of this viage shall, towarde the recoveringe of ther fyrst charge, paye no manour of costome for any kind of marchandise that they do bringe from any place through this our discovered passage, duringe the space of twenty-one yers, her majestie allways to be answered the ordynary costome of all marchandise transported from any her Domynions.

And I have conferred with Mr. Gilbert not only to sollicyt the same to your honour in bothe our behalves, but also have taken order for the furnishing of the same vyage in everye respect ageynst my retorne most humbly beseching your honor to further the same beinge to the great honour and profit of the quenes Majestie and our contrye, without any charge to her highnes.

Endorsed:—A Jenkynson for the passage into the Cataia which shalbe discovered by him.

3. 26 JUNE 1566. ANTHONY JENKINSON TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL¹.

Other newes I have not at this present, besechynge your honnor to stande my good master in my absence as I have al-

¹ Morgan and Coote, II, 186-8. Extract. This letter is said by the editors to be printed from *State Papers Foreign*. It is not, however, noticed in the *Calendar of State Papers Foreign*, and it has not been found in *State Papers Foreign*, Russia, SP 94.

weys founde in presence and in the sute commenced by Mr Jylbert and me, for the discovery of Cathay, that yf our request be graunted and the sayd Mr. Jylbert mynded to procede in the same in my absence, that yt wyll please your honnor that I may be joyned in with hym, accordyng to our fyrste motyon¹;

+ [DECEMBER 1566]. PETITION OF HUMPHREY GILBERT TO THE QUEEN².

To the Quenes moste excelente Majesti.

Forasmuche as yt hathe pleasid your Majesti to Establishe by parliament the Corporacion for discooverye of new trades I your highneis Humble servant & Subject Humfrey gilberte beyng on of the same Companye³, am therby encooraged and mynd with your Majesties licence & favor to enterpryse & geve the attempt with all possible spede for the discooverye of A passage to Cataya and all other the ryche partes of the worlde as yet unfounde⁴, which takynge good successe shalbe greate honor & strengthe to your majeste with ymmortall fame thoroughte all the world⁵, besides the great enrichinge of your highnes & your Countrie with increace & mayntenaunce of your navye, yt maye therfore please your Majesti to grante me thes privileges followinge, aswell in Consideracion of the premisses as also of the greate Chargys that I shall sustayne by the settinge forwarde the same, besides the apparent mysserable trawayll hassarde & perell of my lyffe, wherin I submyte my selffe to the good wyll & pleassure of god.

¹ From 'Colmogour', *i.e.* Colmogro, near Archangel.

² State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/42, 23 (ii). Probably holograph. Printed Slafter, pp. 184-6. Another version in SP 12/42, 23 (i), the first paragraph of which is collated herewith, and the remainder is collated with the articles of no. 6, pp. 111-5 below.

³ It appears very unlikely that Gilbert was in fact a member of the Muscovy Company in December 1566 or early in January 1567, when this petition was most probably written. In document no. 6, below, the Committees of the Company state on 24 January 1567 that they 'can very well lyke mr Gylbarte acceptinge the freedome of the said socyetye', which does not sound as if he was already a member.

⁴ 'hetherto not founde', SP 12/42, 23 (i).

⁵ 'thorough the world', SP 12/42, 23 (i).

1. Firste that yt maye plesse your honour for the fowre furste voyages to graunte frelye to me, the use & occupacion of suche two of your majestis shippes with ther fornytures as by your honours Lord admyrall shalbe thought moste fytttest to be employed yn that service, with your Majestis Commission yf nede shalbe for the apprestinge and hiring of maryners & other parsons necessarye for that voyage; & also for the vittailynge of suche number of shippes as shalbe used yn that fowre firste voyages at your Majestis pryce.

2. Also that your honour wyll plesse to graunte to your sayd servante his heyres Executores & assignes that he or they maye & shall at his or theyr will & Election yerely duringe the space of xl. yeres, trafficq with anye kynde of merchandise to anye the plases hereafter to be discovered by the said Corporacion for discoverye of new trades with one or two shipes at the moste with oute payeng any maner of custome, imposicion substedes or other duties which may growe to your Majesti for any merchandise to be laden in any of them eyther in their voyage thether or yn ther returne hether except only xii d. for everye toonne accordinge to the burden of the said shipe or shippes.

3. Also that I maye have to me & my ayers yn fee the tenthe parte of all suche landes & Countres as shall so happen to be Diskovered with all manour of proffites thereunto appertayninge. haveinge lyberty to take to that quantyty to any our usses yn any parte of thes diskoveryd Counterys where as to us shall seme good, holdinge yt of your Majesti as of ye Crown of Eng-land¹ at the yerely rente & valew of A knightes fee withoute any impossityon subside oyssing oute. or any other charge or servis for the same.

4. Also to graunte to me duringe my lyfe the Capitaneshipe chefe rule & government too your Majestis use of all suche Contres & terytoryez as shalbe by me or by my meanes or advice discoveryd, with convenyent fee & alowancez for suche a charge as to your Majesti shall seme good, & the same to be occupyd & exercyside by me or my sufficient deputye or deputyez.

5. Also the moyete of her Majestis parte of suche goodes as shall hereafter happen to be forfyted by infrenginge the prevlgis

¹ The preceding six words entered by Cecil.

of the said corporacion to be to the use of me & my ayers in fee for ever answeryng 12d. by the yere for the same.

6. Also that all suche shippes as shall from tyme to tyme be employed aboute the traffike into suche discoveryd countres owtewardes or homewardes with there gingez may be fre for ever of all arestes impreste or ympechementes for any common service of the realme unleas yt be by vertu of her majestis speciall commyssion under her byll assind.

[*Notes by Sir William Cecil at the end of the petition*¹.]

1. in what tyme the foure voyadges shall be / if any of ye first shuld perish

ye Queens own shippes to be vycelled by [contractors?] for redy mony

2. He hymself his heyres of his body or the heyres of his fathers body for yeirs² half custom for thynges contained. without colloryng of strangers into ye partes towardes ye north and west that shall be discovered. /

3. To hym and his heyres of his body, or the heyres of his fathers body.

4. ye Deputy to be allowd by ye Queens Majesty.

5. to hym and his heyres males of his body or of his fathers ut supra

for infrynging of ye priviledges of ye Corporation for any thyng doon or Commetted in ye voyadg north west ward /

Endorsed:—Humfery Gilberte. Mr Gilbertes sute.

5. 24 JANUARY 1567. SIR WILLIAM GERRARD AND ROWLAND HAYWARD TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL³.

Oure bounden dewties remembredde ytt maye please youre Honnour in good parte to receve the annswere to the Artycles of Mr Gylbartes requeste herein inclosedde, addressed unto your Honnour and by hyme sente / who shewythe hymselfe verye

¹ The notes are queries or suggestions regarding the first five articles of the petition, respectively.

² *Crossed out*:—'so as they occupy not in one yere'.

³ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/42, 5 (i).

conformable to surcease his sewte, in anye thinge, that is derogatorye unto oure pryvelleges / whiche resarved, ytt well lykith the Compannye, that he poursue his prefermente and comodytye, as he beste maye / Oure Lorde god preserve youre Honnour longe in good healthe / Att London the xxiiii Daye off Januarye anno 1566.

Youre moste bounden For and in the name of the merchants adventurers For dyscovery off newe trades /

William Garrards

Rowlande Haiwarde

Addressed:—To the righte Honnorable Sir William Cecyll knyghte pryncypale Secretary off the Quenes moste excellent Majesty.

Endorsed:—24. Januar. 1566.

Sir William Garrard & mr Alderman heiward with mr Gilberts request & the merchantes answer therto.

6. [24 JANUARY 1567]. HUMPHREY GILBERT'S PETITION TO THE QUEEN, WITH THE COMMENTS OF THE MUSCOVY COMPANY.¹

Answers to the firste and second Artycles

<p>Touchinge the ayde of shippinge and releacemente of custome yt is not prejudytiall to the Companye yf yt please her majeste to graunte them, notwithstandinge, sythence the Company have frome the begynnyng of the fyrste attempte mynded the discovery of Cathay and have made</p>	<p>1. Firste that ytt maye please your highenes for the iii^{or} firste voyages, so, as the same be performed within the space of tenne yeres nexte followinge Marche come twelve monthes: vz. beyng in anno 1569² to graunte to me the use and occupacion at your majestes adventure, of suche</p>
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¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/42, 5 (ii). Enclosed in no. 5. Printed by Gosling, pp. 69-72. A second copy of the petition without the answers, SP 12/42, 23 (i), has the introductory paragraph as in no. 4. The articles are collated below.

² 'being in anno 1568', SP 12/42, 23 (i).

dyvers attemptes therof and arre determyned so to doe againe aither by the north-easte or by the northwest, They desyer to have the rule and orderinge of all discoveries towardes the said parties, agreynge to their pryveledges etc. wherein they will not refuse: but desyer the good advise, helpe and conference of Mr Gilberte yf yt please hym, with reasonable condytions to enterpryse yt or to assyste theme therin

twoc of youre majestes shippes with their furnytures mete For suche a voyage¹, as by your highenes Lorde Admyral shalbe thought fytt for suche a servyce with your majestes Commyssion, yff nede shalbe for the apprestinge off maryners and other personnes mete² for the same

2. And also that I and the heires males of my boddy and for defaulte of suche Isshewe then the heires males of the bodye of Otes Gylberte deceased may and shall paye but halfe custome and subsedye payable by Englishe men borne, for suche goodes and merchandyse, as we shall by the space of [blank] yeres by oure selves, deputes or assigneis, beyng Englyshe borne, transporte or cause to be transported in one or twoc shippes or vesselles into any place or places; hereafter to be by me, my ayde or advise discoveredde towardes the northwest, or takinge any parte of the weste and also shall paye but xiid. for everye tonne of merchandyse broughte frome suche places duringe the sayde tyme in two suche shippes aforesaid, ande no more whatsoever myghte otherwyse have growin

¹ 'jorney', SP 12/42, 23 (i)

² 'necessarie', SP 12/42, 23 (i).

to your highnes your heires or
successours for anye suche
merchandise, soe broughte or
transported, as ys aforesaid

Answere to the iide Artycle

Item the sayde fellishippe
dothe mislyke wholy the iide
requeste, as derogatorye to the
pryvelleges. / for yt is graun-
ted to them, that they shall
and maye subdue possesse and
occupy all manner townes
Isles and maynlandes of In-
fydelytie lying northwardes,
northeastwardes or northwest-
wardes which shalbe founde:
as vassalles and subjectes of
this Realme / And to acquire
the domynion, tytle and Juris-
diction of those places to be
founde, unto the Quenes Ma-
jestie and her successours for
ever / moreover ytt is graunted
to the said fellyshippe that
none shall traffike vysytt or
saille to any suche contry ly-
inge as is aforesaid undis-
coverede withoute the order
and agreemente of the sayde
fellyshippe

Touchinge the iiiith re-
queste the sayde fellyship can
very well lyke Mr Gylbarte
acceptinge the freedome of the
said socyetie maybe ap-
pointed in persone and not by
substytute, to be Captane and
governour of the Contries by

3. Also that I and my heires
maye have and enjoye of your
majestes gyfte, the tenthe parte
of all suche landes terrytories
and Contries, as shalbe dys-
covered as ys aforesayde to-
wardes anye parte of the northe
and weste, as shalbe by us
chosen with the proffyttes
thereto apperteynyng with
Free passage, egresse and re-
gresse to the same, holdinge
the same of your majeste your
heires and successours by the
yerlye rente of a knyghte Fee,
for all manner of servyce and
other paymentes to be sett or
taxedde.

4. Also that ytt maye please
your majeste to graunt to me
duryng my lyffe the Capten-
shippe rule and government
to your majestes use, of all
suche Contries and territories
as shalbe by me or my advise
discovered as is aforesaid / with

hys travell to be founde / So
as the Lybertye off traffyke
and the Pryveledges aforsaid
be entierly reserved to the sayd
felliship /.

To the fyvethe and syxte:
the sayde Socyetye submytte
them selves to the Quenes ma-
jesties pleasure

convenyente Fee and allow-
aunce for suche a chardge /
and the same to be occupied
and exercysed by me, or my
deputie or deputies soe, as
your majeste shall allowe of
hyme or theme by me to be
nomynatedde

5. Also that ytt maye please
your majeste to graunte me
and to the heires males of my
boddy: and for defaulte of
suche Ishewe, to the heires
males of Otes Gylberte de-
ceased, the one halffe of your
majestes parte of suche goodes,
fynes, forfeitures or penaltyes:
as shall hereafter fortune to be
forfaycted by ynfrynginge the
pryveledges of the said Cor-
poracion for any offence com-
mytted towards the north-
weste or takynge anye parte of
the weste

6. Also that all suche shippes
as shall from tyme to tyme be
ymployed aboute the traffyke
into anye the dyscovered Con-
tries of any¹ Corporacion for
dyscoverye of newe trades,
bothe owtwardes and home-
wardes with theyre gynge²
may be Free for ever of all
arestes, ymprestes and ym-
pecchementes for anye comon
servyse of the Realme, unleste
yt be att the settinge forthe of

¹ 'our', SP 12/42, 23 (i).

² 'gingez', SP 12/42, 23 (i).

a generall Armye and Navye,
and by vertue of your majestes
spetyall Commyssion for the
same, under your Bill
sygnedde¹.

7. 15 MARCH 1567. DON GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II².

There is here an English gentleman, as they say, a great cosmographer, who thinks he has found a way, shorter than that which the Portuguese make, for the east India, and accordingly, one infers from what is said, the route must be by the land which they call Labrador by one of two ways, embarking in this river [Thames] or in Bristol. If they embark in this river, they will go to Norvega [Norway] and from there turn to Islandia [Iceland], from which, with the east wind, they can follow their navigation to the west through the land of Labrador, foreseeing that they might have to turn the north coast of the land, which a few general descriptions³ show to be discovered, and go even further to the west, by the north of the West Indies, and pass to where it would be better for them, or await weather, in order to arrive at the back of those Indies which are discovered to the north, and from there go to the province of Mangi⁴, which is the land of the Tartaro [Tartar], or to the island of Giapon [Japan], on which coast is the island from which it appears they will easily go to China and east India.

By the other route from Bristol they could make their way between Escocia [Scotland] and Irlanda [Ireland], going from coast to coast and island to island, and with good weather make the land of Labrador and double Cape Frio⁵, which is the most northerly part of this land and which looks towards the east, and follow the route above to the right⁶. And if the weather did not

¹ 'assigned', SP 12/42, 23 (i).

² Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, LXXXIX, 457-8. Extract, translated. CSPSp. 1558-67, no. 412.

³ 'discreciones' for 'discripciones', descriptions or maps?

⁴ In Gilbert's map of 1566 'Mangi' appears to be North China. Facing p. 164.

⁵ On Gilbert's map it appears as 'C Fre' at about 60° N.

⁶ 'y seguir la derrota arriba derecha'.

serve to double the said Cape Frio they could go to Iceland and Groenlandia [Greenland] and from thence, the weather being suitable again, follow their navigation. It appears that this journey is a difficult one, but so did those made before the discovery of the Indies and, as here they have not much commerce¹, they are always thinking how they can benefit themselves. I shall try to treat with this gentleman and learn his intention, which might be other [than that which I have described], and, if it appears that I understood what he intends or if he has another evil object, I will give notice, as it is very necessary to keep the matter of the Indies in view and to restrain² those who may go to other parts.

8. 9 FEBRUARY 1571. JOHN DEE ON GILBERT'S PROJECT OF 1567³.

Yet, this one thyng may I, (justly) say. In Navigation, none ought to have greater care, to be skillfull, then our English Pylotes. And perchaunce, Some would more attempt: And other Some, more willingly would be aydyng, if they wist certainly, what Priviledge, God had endued this Iland with, by reason of Situation, most commodious for Navigation, to Places most Famous & Riche. And though, (of Late)⁴ a young Gentleman, a Courragious Capitaine, was in a great readynes, with good hope, and great causes of persuasion, to have ventured, for a Discoverye, (either Westerly, by Cape de Paramantia⁵: or Esterly, above Nova Zemla, and the Cyremisses) and was, at the very nere tyme of Attempting, called and employed otherwise (both then, and since,) in great good service to his Countrey, as the Irish Rebels have⁶ tasted: Yet, I say, (though the same Gentleman, doo not hereafter, deale therewith) Some one, or other,

¹ 'no tienen muchos negocios'.

² 'ir á la mano á los'.

³ Euclid. *The elements of geometrie: trans. by H. Billingsley. With a very fruitful praeface made by M. J. Dee* (1570). Dee's preface is dated at Mortlake, 9 February 1570. The extract is from sig. A1, a repeat after D4.

⁴ Anno 1567 S. H. G. [Sir Humphrey Gilbert]. Dee's note.

⁵ Marked on Gilbert's map midway across the north coast of America. The name appeared on Ortelius' map of 1564. See Wagner, *Cartography of the north-west coast of America*, I, 77.

⁶ Anno 1569. Dee's note.

should listen to the Matter: and by good advise, and discrete Circumspection, by little, and little, wyne to the sufficient knowledge of that Trade and Voyage: Which, now, I would be sory, (through Carelesnesse, want of Skill, and Courrage,) should remayne Unknowne and unheard of. Seyng, also, we are herein, halfe challenged by the learned, by halfe request, published. Therof, verely, might grow Commoditye, to this Land chiefly, and to the rest of the Christen Common wealth, farre passing all riches and worldly Threasure.

CHAPTER II
IRISH COLONISATION SCHEMES
1567-72

No Conquered nacion will ever yelde willenglie their obedience
for love but rather for feare.

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, 1569.

9. 11 JUNE 1567. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO SIR HENRY SIDNEY¹.

BY other your lettres of the vith of may to our Counsell ye
desyre to understand our full resolution for planting of
people in Ulster. Wher in we cannot otherwise but gener-
ally confirme to yow our former determinacion: that is we doo
ernestly meane the same and we covet nothing more in that
behalf, then to heere certainly of the extirpation of Shane
O'Neill. . . . And for the substance of the matter it hath ben
never openid unto us in any particular sort, what nombre of
people wil[be] requisite to replenishe those contreys. nor in
what sort they were to be maynteyned. nor what our charge
shulde be in the begining. nor how long it shulde contynue.
nor what revenue shulde grow to us thereby. So as without
further explication of some particular devises to be propownded
unto us and to our Crowne in respect of our great charges:
We cannot presently make any particular answer. But this
we think fitt to gyve eare to your devise, and to make yow the
principall minister for the execution of the same for the further-

¹ State Papers Ireland, Elizabeth. SP 63/21, 10. Extracts. This is a draft with emendations in Cecil's hand. The original, dated from Westminster on 12 June 1567, was almost certainly among a collection of Sydney Papers offered for sale by Thomas Thorpe in 1832, and described in a catalogue of that year (BM pressmark S.C. 604, item 628, no. 42). Thorpe summarizes the relevant passages as—'The peopling of Ulster with obedient subjects resolved on, so soon as Shane O'Neill is extirpated. . . . The L.D. to confer secretly with Mr. Gilbert, who is in Ireland, on a project of peopling the northern parts'.

ance wherof we think it good that ye do conferre with our servaunt [blank] Gilbert now presently there who as we here knowith the meaning of sundry Gentlemen of good accompt in his contrey that presently ar gyven to be at charges with our assent to levy good nombres of men to repayre thither to those north partes of Irlande, there to serve us, and to take the possession of some partes of landes there, to holde them yn some estate of Inheritance / and thereby to plant them selves and their company being of thenglishe birth to contynue in habitation there yelding to us both due obedience and resonable yerely revenue. After which conference had with him, in secret manner with regard had theryn to our least charge and most surety, We wold have yow to gyve us advertisement of your opinion / & for thexecution therof, or of so much as we shall allow we meane to commit the hole credit (as reason is) to your self.

10. 6 JULY 1567. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO SIR HENRY SIDNEY¹.

And because we resolve to quite the new come Scotcs out of the Glyns the Rote, and other partes so as it is fit to consider how the same or ye lyke shalbe heerafter kept from retourning out of Scotland thither, which probably we can not doo but either by keeping of garisons there to our contynual charge, or ellse by plantinge the sea coastes of the same with Englishe subiectes: we do very well allow of your opinion declarid to us by Agar, that some gentlemen of good houses within our Realme heere may be inducid to comme over with their awne Tenautes and freendes, and to have assignid unto them such portions of territoryes there as yelding for the same some small rent at the begynning with an increase resonable after some yers passed, they may be encoraged to plant them selves and their freendes

¹ State Papers Ireland, Elizabeth. SP 63/21, 49. Extract. Draft, with emendations in Cecil's hand. The original, dated, from Richmond, 6 July 1567, is noted by Thorpe (item 628, no. 43: see p. 118 above), who summarizes the extract printed above as 'English families to be planted in the north in place of the Scots to be expulsed. Humfrey Gilbert appointed by certain gentlemen of the west to negotiate this with the L.D.'. Part of the extract, from 'we do very well allow of your opinion . . .', is printed by Slafter, pp. 187-8.

there, and so by contynuaunce of tyme to stablishe those contres with Englishe birth and government. Forther proceedinge wherin to perfection, we percieve there canbe no present resolution taken, untill the same contreys be surveyed and described. Which we perceive you intend to do now in this your next journey to be begoone within this moneth of July. And therwith also before any graunt can be orderly made, to any person the same contreys must be devydid into sheere growndes. for the which we perceyve ye have causid a forme of a statut to be devisid, to passe in our next parlement there. which being brought unto us, without more mater knowne to ye contrary, we meane to allow. And in the meane tyme, wishe yow to peruse those contreys in this your next journey, so as you may advertise us what nombre of famylyes and habitations will be requisit for this pourpose with such other particularetyes as may gyve us understanding of ye state of ye same. And in the meane tyme lykewise to treat & devise with such english gentlemen as be there, or of your acquaintaunce heere in Englande, in the best sort you can, for the habitation of the same contreys. And where dyvers seeme desyrous heere of the lyke, we will addresse them eyther by them selves or by their sufficient messengers to conferre with you as our principall officer therin, lyke as we heere that our servaunt Humfrey Gilbert is instructid from certein gentlemen in the west partes heere to deale with yow in this behalf. which yow shall best know of him self; if we have not already impartid it unto yow. Our meaning is always in this mater to reserve to our selves the power and disposition of theese territoryes & contreys to suche as shalbe thought ye principall men for the same, upon advise had from you, as from our principall governor of the whole And therefore the sooner ye do infourme us of the particulartyes heerin requysite, the soner yow shalbe satisfied.

*Endorsed:—*To the Lord Deputy of Irland from the Quenes majeste upon mr F. Agardes¹ comming and report.

¹ Francis Agard, a member of the Irish Privy Council.

11. 7 JULY 1567. MEMORANDA BY SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS¹.

Yf Turlough Lynoghe shall styll kleame to be Oneale rebellously, than to offer elyxander ogge, with the newe Skottes, his free holde for theyr habitation, yf theye entryng forthwith ther-uppon shall expell hym & keape the same.

And yff Turlough be a good subject than to expell the skotts forthwith

To gyve no cowntenance of honor to Turloghe, otherwyse than that he may be governed as mr Ager dothe governe the Bernes & Toolles, untill a president & cownsayle be establisshed there.

That m^r gylbard be made president there for the first yere or two, yff he joynyng with his frendes of ye weste woll plant habitation there of ynglyshe men with resonable conditions.

To provoke sotche of ye thowsand men that are to be cassed beyng good husbond men, plowe wryghts, kart wryghts, and Smythes, eyther to take habitation yf they be hable, or els to staye & serve there under sotche gentlemen as shall inhabyte there.

And as soone as may be to cawse artizans, and sea fysshers to plant uppon the Ban; at Strangford, and at Lowghfoyle, in-trenchyng theym selffes there, that after they may growe to be haven Townes.

Endorsed:—7. Julii 1567. Mr Vicehamberlens opinion in cer-ten causes of Irland

12. 20 JULY 1567. SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO SIR HENRY SIDNEY².

It may please your Lordship, That where the same have ben desirous that some part of that realme might be inhabited with gentlemen and people of this countrey who might be able to defend the same and kepe it from such oppressions as lately it hath borne. This bearer sir Arthur Champernowne hath had

¹ State Papers Ireland, Elizabeth. SP 63/21, 56. Printed by Slafter, pp. 189-90.

² State Papers Ireland, Elizabeth. SP 63/21, 64. Printed by Slafter, p. 192.

liking thereof, and of his intention hath hertofore lett mr Gilbert to understand. To whom he also presently repaireth for furder conference. And though I nede not to recommend this gentleman being so well knowen unto your Lordship yet being of so good a howse and ability here I could not but declare my good allowance of his intendement. And for that respect thought to accompany him with these few wordes to your Lordships favour, to whom I committ the same. And so I wish your Lordship right well to do. from Richmond the xxth of July 1567.

Your Lordships humbly at Command:

W. Cecill.

Theis gentillmen come purposely to see your Lordship and ye contrey, as I perceave, and to procede as yow shall fynd mete.

Addressed:—To the right honorable my very good Lord Sir Henry Sidney [knigh]t of th' order, Lord deputy [of the] Realme of Ireland.

Endorsed:—25 of August 1567. Secerytory Cecell by Syr owture Chanborn¹.

13. [1568-9]. REQUESTS OF SIR WARHAM ST. LEGER, EDWARD SAINTLOO, RICHARD GRENVILLE, THOMAS LETON, HUMPHREY GILBERT, JACQUES WINGFIELD AND GILBERT TALBOT FOR CORPORATE PRIVILEGES IN MUNSTER².

A note of Sutch demaundes as Certeyne gentlemen mynde to be Sutours to the Queenes moste excellent majesty for the Fisshing of the South and Southwest Seas of Ireland and enjoying of sutch havens Ilandes and Castells as hereafter Followeth

Furste. To have of her highnes in fee fearme, the havens of Balletemoore, and Beere haven, with the Ilandes of Cape cleer, Inyskircan and the other Ilandes with in the haven of Balletemoore, and the Ilandes belonging to beere haven, with all sutch landes spirituall and temporall as apperteine unto those Ilandes. And also to have the comodity of the other Ilandes and havens,

¹ Presumably the date of Sidney's receipt of the letter, which for some reason found its way back to the State Papers.

² State Papers Ireland, Elizabeth. SP 63/26, 81. A group of documents associated with this petition are summarized in Appendix I, pp. 490-7.

which are in her highnes gifte, from the Towne of Rosse to the sounde of Blaskey / And also to have lysence of her majesty to fortiffye and build upon the maine land of those havens.

Item to have a graunte from her majesty, to make a Corporat Towne, and to fortiffy the same at the haven of Balletemoore, And also at Beere haven, or upon eny of the Ilandes aforesaid, as shall seeme best to the discrecion of the gentlemen of that corporation uppon their arrivall there, as they like to build or inhabit.

Item to have from her highnes full AuthORITY to excecute in the Same Towne the Lawes of this Realme in all matteres / Savinge in Cases of highe Threasion, in as lardge and Ample manner, as has eny other Coporat Towne in Ireland.

Item the seid corporation, to have graunte from her majesty to make Sutch statutes and lawes as shall seeme good to their discrecions, for the better ordning of them selves, and their people, those being agreeable to the lawes of this Realme.

Item to have lysence from her highnes to have the traffick of the same partes of the Country, in as lardge and ample maner, as the other Corporat. Townes have, in the Sowth and Southwest of Ireland.

Item to have lysence of her majesty to traffick & trade with their marchandice, into alle partes of christendom excepting sutch places as are by former grauntes from her highnes prohibited, or Contrary to the Lawes of the Realme of Ireland.

Item in Consideracion that the same enterprise will be a greate Chardge to the gentlemen, And that the quenes hignes shall have the yerely rent of Two hundreth poundes Currant money of England to her and her heires for ever, after three yeres, They therefore desire to have graunte from her majesty to have free Course and recourse with their marchandice / without paying eny maner of Custome more then the yerely rent

Item to have Comission from her majesty to take uppe Fower hundred men of Sutch Occupacons as shall serve that turne, to be employed about the defence and fortiffying of those havens and Ilandes and keeping of them. The chardges of which men to be disbursed by the gentlemen of that Corporacion

Item to have of her highnes in gift, towardes their first begin-
yng of their fortifficacons and maintennauce of a Gally and
Briggenden Two hundred Condempned men of the Realme of
Ireland to be imployed as the gentlemen of the Corporacion
shall thinke good

In consideracion of the graunte of the Premisses the said
gentlemen are agreed to yelde unto her majesty her heirs &
Successours, A yerely rent of Two hundred poundes Current
monney of England after three yeres / And so for Somany yeres
as the said Townes or fortes shalbe by the gentlemen, their
heires executors or assynes maineteyned

Sir Warrham Sentleger
Mr Edward Sentlowe
Mr Grenfeld
Mr thomas Leton
Mr Umfrey Gilbert
Mr Jaques Wyngfeld
Mr Gilbert Talbott¹

14. 1572. HUMPHREY GILBERT, 'THE DISCOURSE OF IRELAND'².

The discourse of Ireland

1572³ The v^t parte of Ireland onely inhabited by the English men
Humphrey or Subject to England called the English pale.
Gilbardes Ireland more chardgeable in keping thereof then proffitable
Reporte unto England.

One parte of Ireland of xxx myles longe and viii myle in the
least place broade. Off as good ground as eny in England, nove
Sir Arthur lienge desolate and partely offred by the Quene to Sir A. C.
Champer- H. G. and others to wyne and holde it of hir.
non Sir
Humphrye

*Gilbart*⁴

¹ The names are not holograph signatures but are in a different hand from the body of the document.

² Lambeth, Carew MS. 614, p. 239. Printed by Slafter, pp. 222-8. It is difficult to know whether to accept Carew's dating of this document and the words he added to the endorsement or not, as his annotations were frequently at fault, but a plausible case may be made out for acceptance. See p. 18 above.

³ The date is in Carew's hand.

⁴ The names are in Carew's hand.

Reasons of the Dangers of Ireland remaynyng uncyvyll.

Furst remaynyng uncyvill devided in factions and full of Rebellions it cannot longe contynue in so sure state as it wolde beinge united and stablished under good lawes.

For division and uprores are causes of Confusion, a way made open to thentrye of enemyes, There custome of Rebellion sheweth there desire of monarchie amonge them selves as sone as oportunitie is offred.

They are nove more apt thereunto by dayly encrease in use of warlicke excercises knowledge and use of municion which nove is farre other then it was when the people were more savadge and barbarouse

Thend of Rebbellion tumultes is uncertaine the contry apt to have ayde of Spanyardes or scottes or bothe and also of other Contries and that by warre by mariadge or desire of Conquest upon cyvill tumultes.

The spanyardes desiring conquest are in great suspicion for ther famyliaritie with the contrye men ther great traffique yerely with them at the least with vi^e saile of Shippes and barckes for Fisshinge onely besides other.

Great occasion why spaine shuld desire it for neernes of Contrye for necessitie of Fisshing which they may not lacke and the hablenes of the thinge to be kept and annoyance of us beinge enemyes, the licke reson for Fraun[ce] how dangerous the losse of Ireland unto the Irish nacion would be unto England Scotland may be an example of other nacions the worsse howe unprofitable the losse of the tresure which Ireland beinge cyvill would yeld England may easely be geassed and the losse of the same to be Irrecoverable, the frutefullnes of the soyle the plentye of all victuelles, the strength of groundes castells townes with the nombre and strength of Comodious and lardge havens do geve manifest prouf and forwarninge of.

What benefites may growe unto Ingland by makeinge Ireland cyvill and under Subjection of good lawes.

The furst and principall is the assured subjection of Ireland *The* there quietnes without rebellions and thereby a savinge of great *anyoyed rebellion.* expence to treasure which nove the crowne of England is often *Expences saved.* and yerely chardged withall

*Ireland
kept sub-
ject unto
England.
To Eng-
land a
necessari
frend or a
hurtfull
enemye.*

The second is the preservacion of the Irish empire from the conquest of the spaniardes Frenche men and other nacions the which is nowe more to be dowbted then heretofore it hath bene and more perillous for England then when Callis was Englishe and if Ireland shuld also be wonne from England Then England shuld be bordered on eche side as occasion might sone fall owt, with unsure and daungerous neighbours whereof let Scotland be a president for us.

The great proffit that in short tyme would growe unto England by the revenues of landes, gotten yn of wardships customes, subsidies, mynes and many other waies which may be of great valuer in short tyme

The customes of Merchauntes and Fishermen by the seas which also may be veary great and proffitable

The great proffit that may growe unto English marchauntes of Irish wares nove in the handes of straungers

The licke to the English navye by fisshing and for maintenance of the same better then others without exception

The kepinge hereby the spanishe nacion in such advantage of pollycye as they shall feare us, they shall nede us and there state to stand subject to the revenge of our displeasures to ther great perill, and we to prevent and exempt our selves by this meanes owt of the licke inconvenience and perill of subjection unto ther malice

The great and yerely proffites that shall Com of myneralles and mettalles which may be veary great

The maner and way howe to bringe Ireland under cyvill governaunce and howe to kepe them so with the chardge thereof unto England

Furst drawe from them the trade and relieffes which they have of the spanyardes and let them have it by traffique of Englishmen, which shall not onely procure love of them unto the English nacion but also bringe them into that necessitie for ther victuelling and lyving by english men as they shalbe dryven to kepe obedience unto the prince of England and amytie with the English nacion

Allso to have allwaies the nobilities children of Ireland to be pages of honour to the kinge of England to be trayned uppe in

his Court during ther childhode and allwaies to have pledges here of persons and in tyme suspicious

To have upon eche haven of Ireland fortresses to be made to be kept with a garrison of English souldiors and the licke in every notable porte towne and this to be done in every quarter of Ireland Easte, west, north and Sowthe, and theis to be maynteyned by contrybucion of Irish inhabitantes adjoynynge for the defence of them selves and ther goodes against the spoiles and incursions of the wylde Irish and of cyvill broyles

Item to let as many tenures in chiefe in Ireland and the wardes as they fall to be broght into Ingland note This to be done with exchandise of land which they nobilitie and gentlemen somewhat better then theirs

Item to have it confirmed by act of parliament that who soever after a certaine day bringeth any municion and weapons unto the wylde Irish to forfeit his shippe and goodes

The petitions to be required of the Queenes majestie

Furst to have graunt of the Ile of Balletymore [Baltimore] with a Frerye standinge therein upon which ther must be a fortification made.

Secondlie to have an Iland within the harbor of Balletymore in which the spanyardes lye aground duringe the tyme of there fisshinge wherein also there must be a forte made to kepe the shippes in For that thother roade is of suche lardgnes, as upon comynge of eny tempest they are in perill of wracke.

Thirdly where the spanyardes and biskeins use yerely to fishe from the foreland of Balskey all which hir majesties streame painge no custome to hir highnes to have aswell of them as of suche others as shalbe traffiquers thither for wyne Salt Iron and suche other wares as they bringe suche reasonable custome from tyme to tyme as by your majestie shalbe thought reasonable and convenient

Fowrthly to have of all suche fishe as they take the vith or xth fische of all straundgers that fishe there

Fyvetly, to have graunted unto me and my parteners the pryviledge and onely traffique with the lordes and people of Ireland for suche Irish wares and Comodities as is nove traded by the spanyardes and Irishmen onely

Sixtly, to have also a pryviledge for workinge of all myneralles

and mettalles in Ireland payng the queenes Majestie the xvth parte Free and compoundinge reasonable with the awners of the landes there.

Seventhly, to be admyrall of those seas compoundinge reasonably with the Lord admyrall of England for the same.

Eightly, to have one shippe of a hundred tonnes with hir full furniture of munition and all other necessarye taklinge to be geven me by the queenes highnes

Nynethly to have Comission graunted me from the Queenes Majestie and to my sufficient deputies for punishmentes of offenders servinge under me in suche maner as unto hir Majestie shall thoght fitte

Tenthly, to have comission for levyinge of fisshermen mariners and artificers and for takinge upp and transportacion from Ingland into Ireland of all kindes of graine butter chese and bacon with other kindes of victuell for victuellinge of v^c men that shall under.

Eleventhly to have auctoritie for apprehencion of Pirates of what nacion so ever they be and the benefites of suche spoiles as shalbe found in them

Twelfthly to have graunt of all suche land and Ilandes to be enhabited by my Company as shalbe wonne by them from the wylde Irishe and suche licke rebelles there to holde the same of the quenes Majestie and hir heires painge hir iid for an acre of all landes so wonne and to enjoye the Fee simple thereof

The Reason and licklyhode that aswell spanyardes & other Strangers as also the Irish them selves wilbe willinge to yeld and consent unto the graunt and paiementes of the Customes afore-said is to have them selves to be defended from the violence aswell of the wylde Irish and savadge people which often cutt the cables on the haulse of Fisshermen and Merchauntes there to the loss of ther lyves and goodes bysuffringe theshippes to run on the rockes for to have spoile of them as also against the force of pirates by whom they are often spoyled bothe of life & goodes.

Endorsed:—Notes consernynge Ierlande delyvered to Sir Jhon Perrott¹.

¹ The last five words are in Carew's hand. The body of the document is not in Gilbert's hand.

CHAPTER III
A NEW PASSAGE TO CATAIA

He is not worthie to live at all, that for feare, or daunger of death, shunneth his countrey service, and his owne honour.

Discourse.

15. 12 APRIL 1576. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, *A discourse of a discoverie for a new passage to Cataia.*¹

A DISCOURSE
Of a Discoverie
for a new Passage to Cataia.
Written by Sir HUMFREY GILBERT, Knight.
Quid non?
Imprinted at London by Henry Middleton
for Richarde Jhones
ANNO. DOMINI. 1576.
Aprilis. 12.

GEORGE GASCOIGNE
Esquire to the Reader.

EVERY man that is of judgment, and hath a reasonable disposition to the attaining of anie vertue, together with a discretion to use the benefites of nature, will confesse, that we are by as great reason bounde to encourage and commend the industrie of the diligent, as to dispraise and punish the slouth or abuse of the negligent: For if princes doe not aswell rewarde and cherish the well deserving subjecte, as their Judges and Magistrates are readie to correct the offendour, the Common Wealth might then quickly be deprived both of the

¹ Printed by Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1589), pp. 597-615; III (1600), 111-24, without the introductory matter.

one and the other: I meane that as fast as the sword of Justice should weede out the one, so fast the scourge of ingratitude woulde chase out the other. And so thereby their dominions might (in the end) become naked and altogether unfurnished.

We see the good huswife is no lesse curious to decke her bees hive, to rub and perfume it with sweete herbes, to cover and defend it from raine with clay and boordes, and to place it in the warme Sunshine safe from the Northerly blast: then Shee is readie to wreck her malice on the drones, to smoke and smoulder them with Bunte and Brimstone, to fray and chase them out by soudain noyse, and to kill them and caste them away, as unprofitable members in her Microcosmos. Yea, and with melodie of Basons and Timbrils will shee welcome home her swarme, if at anye time they doe (wasplishly) goe astray, and yet at last retourne to their former abyding.

Thus muche (gentle reader) I have thought good (Allegorically) to write in the behalfe of the right worshipful and my very frend Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight, the true authour of this little (yet profitable) Pamphlet, intituled A Discourse of a Discoverie for a newe passage to Cataia, etc. In whose Commendation I woulde fayne write asmuche as hee deserveth, were I not afrayde to bee condemned by him of flatterie: which blame (with my friendes) I use not to deserve. But surely, over and besides that, hee is a gentleman wel and worshipfully borne and bredde, and well tryed to bee valiant in martiall affayres, wherby hee hath worthely beene constituted a Coronell and generall in places requisite, and hath with sufficiencie discharged the same, both in this Realme, and in forreigne Nations: hee is also indued with sundrie great gyftes of the minde, and generally well given to the advauncement of knowledge and vertue. All whiche good partes I rather set downe constrained by the present occasion, then prompted by any vaine desire to currie favoure with my friende: For his vertues are sufficient to praise themselves. And it shalbe a sufficient conclusion for my prayses, to wishe that our realme had store of suche Gentlemen.

But as the good Gardener doth cover his tender herbes in winter, and cherishe them also in summer: so have I thought my selfe bounden somewhat to say in the commendation of this

present Treatise, and somewhat to answere unto the objections that might bee made by such as list to cavill at everie commendable enterprise.

And surely I cannot chuse, but highly prayse the noble minde and courage of the Authour, who more respectinge the publique profit that might ensue by this Discoverie, then the delicate life of a Courtier, well countenanced and favoured both by his Prince and all the Nobilitie, had prepared his owne bodie to abide the malice of the windes and waves, and was even ready to have perfourmed the voyage in proper person, if he had not beene by her Majestie otherwise commanded and employed in martiall affaires, aswell in Ireland, as sithence in other places.

You must herewith understand (good Reader) that the authour havinge a worshipfull Knight to his brother, who abashed at this enterprise (aswell for that he himselfe had none issue, nor other heier whome he ment to bestow his lands upon, but onely this Authour, and that this voyage then seemed strang and had not beene commonly spoken of before, as also because it seemed impossible unto the common capacities) did seeme partly to mislike his resolutions, and to dissuade him from the same: thereupon he wrote this Treatise unto his saide Brother, both to excuse and cleare himselfe from the note of rashnesse, and also to set downe such Authorities, reasons, and experiences, as had chiefly encouraged him unto the same, as may appeare by the letter next following, the which I have here inserted for that purpose. And this was done about vii. yeares now past, sithence which time the originall copies of the same have lien by the authour as one rather dreading to hazarde the Judgements of curious perusers, then greedie of glorie by hasty publication.

Now it happened that my self being one (amongst manie) beholding to the said Sir Humfrey Gilbert for sundrie curtesies, did come to visit him in Winter last passed at his house in Limehowse, and beeing verie bolde to demaunde of him howe he spent his time in this loytering vacation from martiall stratagemes, he curteously tooke me up into his Studie, and there shewed me sundrie profitable and verie commendable

exercises, which he had perfected painefully with his owne penne: And amongst the rest this present Discoverie. The which as well because it was not long, as also because I understoode that M. Fourboiser (a kinsman of mine) did pretend to travaile in the same Discoverie, I craved at the saide Sir Humphreyes handes for two or three dayes to reade and to peruse. And hee verie friendly granted my request, but stil seming to doubt that thereby the same might, contrarie to his former determination, be Imprinted.

And to be plaine, when I had at good leasure perused it, and therewithall conferred his allegations by the Tables of Ortelius, and by sundrie other Cosmographically Mappes and Charts, I seemed in my simple judgement not onely to like it singularly, but also thought it very meete (as the present occasion serveth) to give it out in publike. Wherupon I have (as you see) caused my friendes great travaile, and mine owne greater presumption to be registred in print.

But since I have thus adventured both his rebuke, and mine owne reproofe, let me thus muche alledge in both our defences.

1 First it is but a Pamphlet and no large discourse, and therefore the more to be borne withall: since the faults (if any be) shalbe the fewer, because the volume is not great.

2 Also it was ment by the autour, but as a private Letter unto his Brother for his better satisfaction: and therefore his imperfections therein (if any were) are to be pardoned, since it is very likely that if he had ment to publish the same, he would with greater heede have observed and perused the worke in everie parte.

3 Againe, it commeth foorth without his consent: So that he had neither warning nor time to examine, nor yet to amende anie thing that were worthie misliking.

4 Furthermore it treateth of a matter whereof no man hath heretofore written particularly, nor shewed ani approved reason for the same. So that not onely his travaile and paine are very commendable (who out of sundrie Authorities woulde gather one reasonable conjecture) but also the worke is not to be thought bareine, although it doe not fully prove somuch as may be expected, since he that plougheth in a flintie field, speedeth well if he reape but an indifferent crop.

5 And last of all it is to bee considered, that of thinges uncertaine, the greatest Clerke that ever was could write but probably.

Herewithall, as I have preposterously answered such objections as might be made against it, So now let mee say that a great learned man (even M. Dee) doth seeme very well to like of this Discoverie and doth much commend the Authour, the which he declareth in his Mathematical preface to the english Euclide. I refer thee (Reader) to peruse the same, and thinke it not strange though I be encouraged by so learned a foreleader, to set forth a thing which hee so well liked of.

To conclude, whereas other Cosmographical workes doe but shew us things already knowen and treated of, this Discoverie doeth tend to a very profitable and commendable practise of a thing to bee discovered. So that I thought it my part, both for great good will to the authour, and for publike perourmance of a common duetie, to commend a little Bee somuch commendable, to defend it from the stormes of objections, with boords and clay of direct answers: To set it in the sunshine (as you see) and to ring it out with my best basons, for the better expressing of such joye and comfort, as I have therein conceived.

All whiche, together with the frendly constructions of the authours travaile and my boldnes, I commend (gentle reader) unto thy curteous consideration, wishinge unto thee, much profite by perusing this treatise, unto the authour, much prayse according to his deserts, to my kinsman (who nowe attempteth to prove the same discovery) happy returne, and to my selfe, some thanks and none ill will, for my presumption.

So that the Authour being thereby encouraged, may be the more willing hereafter to publishe some other well worthy which he hath in readinesse, and whereof hee hath made me already an eyedwitness. Farewell.

From my lodging where I march amongst the Muses for lacke of exercise in martiall employes, this 12. of April. 1576.

A friend to all well willing Readers.

George Gascoine.¹

¹ 'A propheticall sonet' by Gascoigne, which follows, has been omitted.

A LETTER OF SIR HUMFREY GILBERT, Knight, sent to his Brother, Sir JOHN GILBERT, of Compton, in the Countie of Devon Knight, concerning the discourse of this Discoverie.

SIR, you might justly have charged mee with an unsettled head if I had at any time taken in hand, to discover Utopia, or any countrey fained by imagination: But Cataia is none such, it is a countrey, well knownen to be described and set forth by all moderne Geographers, whose authoritie in this art (contrarie to all other) beareth most credit, and the passage thereunto, by the Northwest from us, through a sea which lieth on the Northside of Labrador, mentioned and proved, by no smal number of the most expert, and best learned amongst them. By whose authoritie, if I (amongst others) have beene moved, to hope of that passage, who can justly blame me? sith everie man is best to be credited and beleaved, in his owne professed art and science, wherein he doth most excell.

*Cuique in
sua arte
creden-
dum est.*

And if I would not give that credit, to those authours which they deserve, but were so wedded unto my owne ignorance, that neither the authoritie of learned Geographers, the reasons of wise Philosophers, nor the experience of painfull Travellers, might persuade me to believe a trueth: Then might I justly be accompted selfe willed (which a learner ought chiefly to eschewe) holding for a Maxime, that, Discentem oportet credere. And knowing you to be one that may easily be induced to hearken, and yeelde to reason, I will briefly open unto you, some fewe of the grounds of mine opinion, to the ende you may the better understand, that my hope of this discoverie and passage, was not so rashe, or foolishe, as you heretofore have deemed: but contrariwise, grounded upon a very sure foundation, and that not unadvisedly, but after long consideration and great conference, had with such as I knew to be both wise, learned, and of great experience, as well touching this passage, as the wonderfull welth and commodities, which might, and would ensue thereby, it being once discovered: whose abundance of riches and treasure, no man of learning, and judgement

doubteth, for that the countreys themselves, and their commodities, are apparently knowen by sundrie mens experience.

But as it is one thing to speak, and an other by reason to confirme, so I wil briefly do my indeavour to prove the same. And have herewithall sent you, for your better understandinge, a rough draught, of a universall Map in the end of the boke,¹ sufficient to explaine the matter, with those names only in effect which are mencioned in this discourse: to the ende that by resorting to this general Mappe, etc. finding without difficultie, everie particular place mencioned herein, you may the better gather my meaning, and conceive my reasons, alledged for the proove of this passage, nowe in question: which I wil prove three wayes.

Al which, I have divided into severall chapters, which may fully deliver unto you the whol contents of this worke, by their severall titles: as followeth. Fare you well from my lodging the last of June, Anno D. 1566.

Your loving Brother

Humfrey Gilbert.

The Table of the matters conteyned in everie Chapter of this Booke.

Capitulo 1.

TO proove by authoritie a passage to be on the Northside of America, to goe to Cataia, China, and to the East India.

Capitulo 2.

To proove by reason, a passage to be on the Northside of America, to goe to Cataia, the Mulluccae, etc.

¹ Facing p. 164. It is based on the Ortelius world map of 1564, entitled *Nova totius terrarum orbis . . . descriptio*. A reference to an Ortelius map of 1569 on p. 139 below is probably interpolated by Gascoigne. Mr. Lynam informs me that Ortelius is not known to have published any map in 1569, but that since some writers of the sixteenth century have ascribed the date 1569 to certain of the maps included in his atlas of 1570 (the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*), it is possible that copies of these may have been issued separately before the atlas was published.

Capitulo 3.

To proove by experience of sundrie mens travails the opening of some parte of this Northwest passage, whereby good hope remaineth of the rest.

Capitulo 4.

To proove by Circumstance, that the Northwest passage hath bene sayled through out.

Capitulo 5.

To proove that suche Indians as have bene driven upon the coastes of Germanie came not thither by ye Southeast, Southwest nor from any part of Afrik or America.

Capitulo 6.

To proove that the Indians aforementioned came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorow passage Navigable that way.

Capitulo 7.

To proove that these Indians came by the Northwest, which induceth a certaintie of this passage by experience.

Capitulo 8.

What severall reasons, were alledged before the Queenes Majestie, and certaine Lordes of her Highnes privie Counsell, by a Gentleman of great travaile and experience, to proove this passage by the Northeast, with my severall answeres then alledged to the same.

Capitulo 9.

How that this passage by the Northwest, is more commodious for our traffike, then the other by the Northeast, if there were any such.

Capitulo 10.

What commodities would ensue, this passage being once discovered.

To prove a passage by authoritie to be on the Northside of America, to goe to Cataia, China, and the East India. etc.

WHEN I gave my self to the studie of Geographie, after I had perused and diligently scanned the descriptions of Europe, Asia, and Afrike, and conferred them with the Mappes and Globes both Antique and Moderne: I came in fine to the fourth part of the worlde, commonly called America, which by al descriptions I founde to be an Islande environed round about with the Sea, having on the southside of it, the frete, or straye of Magellan, on the West side Mare de sur, which Sea runneth towards the North, separating it from the East parts of Asia, where the dominions of the Cataians are, On the East part our Weste Ocean, and on the Northside the sea that severeth it from Grondland, thorow which Northern seas, the passage lyeth, which I take now in hande to discover.

Plato in Timeo, and in the Dialogue called Critias, discourseth of an incomparable great Ilande, then called Atlantis, being greater then all Affrik, and Asia, whiche laye Westward from the Straits of Gibraltar, Navigable round aboute: affirming also that the Princes of Atlantis, did aswel enjoye the governance of all Affrik, and the most part of Europe, as of Atlantis it selfe.

Also to proove Platoes opinion of this Ilande, and the inhabyting of it in auncient tyme, by them of Europe, to be of the more credit: Marineus Siculus, in his Chronicle of Spayne, reporteth that there hath ben found by the Spaniardes, in the Golde Mynes of America, certeine peeces of Money, ingraven with the Image of Augustus Caesar: which peeces were sent unto the Pope, for a testimonie of the matter, by John Rufus, Archebishop of Cosentinum.

Moreover, this was not onely thought of Plato, but by Marsilius Ficinus, an excellent Florentine Philosopher, Crantor the Graecian, Proclus, and also Philo the famous Jewe, (as

*Proclus
pag. 24.*

appeareth in his booke De Mundo, and in the Commentaries upon Plato) to be overflowen, and swallowed up with water, by

Justine
Lib. 4.

reason of a mightie Earthquake, and streamyng downe of the heavenly Fludgates. The like whereof happened unto some part of Italie, when by the forciblenes of the Sea, called Superum, it cut of Cicilia from the Continent of Calabria, as appeareth in Justine, in ye beginning of his fourth boke. Also there chaunced the like in Zelande and part of Flaunders.

Plinie.

And also the cities of Pyrrha, and Antissa, aboute Meotis palus: and also, the Citie Burys, in the Corynthian bosome, commonly called Sinus Corynthiacus, have bene swallowed up with the sea, and are not at this day to be discerned: By which accident, America grew to be unknowen of long time, unto us of the later ages, and was lately discovered again, by Americus Vesputius, in the yere of our Lord, 1497. which some say to have bene first discovered, by Christopherus Columbus, a Genuest. Anno. 1492.

The same calamity hapned unto this Isle of Atlantis 600. and od yeres before Plato his time, which some of ye people of the southeast parts of ye world accompted as 9000. yeres: for the manner then was to recone the moone, her Period of the Zodiak for a yere, which is our usuall moneth, depending a Luminari minore.

So that in these our dayes there can no other mayne or Islande bee founde, or judged to be parcell of this Atlantis, then those Westernne Islandes, which beare now the name of America: countervailing thereby the name of Atlantis, in the knowledge of our age.

A minore
ad maius.

Then, if when no part of the said Atlantis was oppressed by water, and earthquake, the coastes rounde about the same were navigable: a far greater hope now remaineth of the same by the Northwest, seeing the most parte of it was, since that time, swallowed up with water, which coulede not utterly take away the olde deepes and chanel, but rather, be an occasion of the inlarging of the olde, and also an inforcing of a great many new: why then should we nowe doubt of our Northwest passage and navigation from Englande to India? etc. seeing that Atlantis, now called America, was ever knowen to be an Islande, and in those days navigable round about, which by accesse of more water coulede not be diminished.

Also Aristotle in his booke *De Mundo*, and the learned Germane, Simon Gryneus in his annotations upon the same, saith that the whole earth (meaning thereby as manifestly doth appeare, Asia, Afrik and Europe, being al the countreys then knowne) to be but on Islande, compassed about with ye reach of the Sea Atlantine: which likewise approveth America to be an Islande, and in no parte adjoyning to Asia, or the rest.

Also many Auncient writers, as Strabo and others, called both the Ocean sea (which lieth East of India) *Atlanticum pelagus*, and that Sea also on the west coasts of Spayne and Afrik, *Mare Atlanticum*: the distance betweene which two coastes, is almost halfe the compasse of the earth.

So that it is incredible, as by Plato appeareth manifestly, that the East Indian sea had the name *Atlanticum pelagus*, of the Mountaine Atlas in Afrik, or yet the Sea adjoining to Afrik had name *Oceanus Atlanticus*, of the same mountaine: but yet those Seas and the mountaine Atlas, were so called of this great Islande Atlantis, and that the one and the other, had their names for a memoriall of the mightie prince Atlas, sometime King therof, who was Japhet youngest sonne to Noah, in whose time the whole earth was divided betweene the three bretherne, Sem, Cam, and Japhet.

Wherefore I am of opinion that America by the Northwest, wilbe founde favorable to this our enterprise, and am the rather imboldened to beleewe the same, for that I finde it not onely confirmed by Plato, Aristotle, and other auncient Philosophers: but also by al the best moderne Geographers, as (Gemma Frisius, Munsterus, Appianus, Hunterus, Costaldus, Guyardinus, Michael Tramesinus, Franciscus Demongenitus, Barnardus Puteanus, Andreas Vavasor, Tramontanus, Petrus Martyr, and also Hortelius) who doth coaste out in his generall Mappe (set out Anno 1569.) al ye countreys and capes, on the Northwestside of America, from Houchelaga to C. De Paramantia: describing likewise ye sea coasts of Cataia and Grondland, towards any part of America, making both Grondland and America, Ilands disjoynd by a great sea, from any part of Asia.

Al which learned men and painful travellers have affirmed,

*Strabo
lib. 15.*

*Valerius
Anselmus
in Cata-
logo anno-
rum et
principum,
fol. 6.*

*Genesis
the 9,
and 10.*

with one consent and voice, that America was an Iland: and y^t there lyeth a great Sea betweene it, Cataia, and Grondland, by the which any man of our countrey, that wil give the attempt, may with smal danger passe to Cataia, the Moluccae, India, and al other places in ye East, in much shorter time, then either the Spaniard, or Portingale doth, or may do, from the neerest part of any of their countreis within Europe.

We ought by reasons right to have a reverent opinion of worthy men. What mooved these learned men to affirme thus much, I know not, or to what end so many and sundrye travellers, of both ages, have allowed the same: But I conjecture that they would never have so constantly affirmed, or notified their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had great good cause, and many probable reasons, to have lead them thereunto.

Now Lord Burleighe & highe Treasurer of England. A Navigation, of one Ochther made in king Alfreds time. A perfect Description of our Muscovia voyage. Now least you should make smal accompt of ancient writers or of their experiences, which travelled long before our times, reconing their authority amongst fables of no importance: I have for the better assurance of those proofes, set down some part of a discourse, written in the Saxon tongue, and translated into English by M. Nowel Servaunte to Maister Secretarie Cecill, wherein there is described a Navigation, which one Ochther made, in the time of Kinge Alfred, Kinge of Westsaxe Anno. 871. the wordes of which discourse were these: He sayled right North, having alwayes the desert land on the Starborde, and on the Larbord, the mayne sea, continueing his course, untill he perceived that the coaste bowed directly towards the East, or else the Sea opened into the land he could not tel how far, where he was compelled to staye, until he had a westerne winde, or somewhat upon the North, and sayled thence directly East, alongst the coast, so farre as he was able in foure dayes, where he was againe inforced to tary, until he had a North wind, because the coast there bowed directly towards the South, or at least opened, he knew not how far into the land, so that he sayled thence along the coaste continually ful South, so farre as he could travel in the space of five dayes, where he discovered a mightie river, whiche opened farre into the lande, and in the entrye of this river he turned backe againe.

Wherby it appeareth, that he went the verye same waye, that

we now do yearly trade by S. Nicholas into Muscovia, whiche way no man in our age knewe, for certeintie to be sea, untill it was since discovered by our English men, in the time of King Edward the sixt: but thought before that time that Grondlande had joyned to Normoria Byarmia, and therefore was accompted a newe discoverie, being nothing so in deede, as by this discourse of Ochthers it appeareth.

*By Sir
Hugh
Wylloewe,
Knight,
Chauncellor and
borough.*

Nevertheles if any man shoulde have taken this voiage in hand, by the incouragment of this onely author, he should have beene thought but simple: consideringe that this Navigation was written so many yeares past, in so barbarous a tongue by one onely obscure author, and yet wee in these our dayes finde by our owne experiences, his former reports to be true.

How much more then, ought we to beleve this passage to Cataia to be, being verified by the opinions of all the best, both Antique, and Moderne Geographers, and plainly set out in the best and most allowed Mappes, Charts, Globes, Cosmographical tables, and discourses, of this our age, and by the rest, not denied, but left as a matter doubtfull.

To prove by reason, a passage to be on the Northside of America: to goe to Cataia, etc.

Cap. 2.

FIRST, al seas are mainteined by the abundance of water, so that ye nearer the end, any River, Baye or Haven is, the shallower it waxeth, (although by some Accidental barre, it is sometime found otherwise) But the farther you saile West, from Island, towardes ye place, wher this fret is thought to be, the more deeper are the seas: which giveth us good hope, of continuance of ye same sea, with Mare de Sur, by some frete that lyeth betweene America, Grondlande, and Cataia.

*Experi-
mented by
our english
fishers.*

2 Also, if that America were not an Iland, but a part of the continent adjoining to Asia, either the people which inhabite Mangia, Anian, and Quinzay, etc. being borderers upon it, would before this time, have made some roade into it: hoping to have found some like commodities to their owne.

*Neede
makes the
olde wife
to trotte.*

3 Or els the Scythians, and Tartarians, (which oftentimes hertofore, have sought far and nere, for new seates, driven thereunto, through the necessitie of their colde, and miserable countreys) would in al this time, have found the way to America, and entred ye same, had the passages bene never so straye, or difficult: the countrie beeing so temperate, pleasaunte and fruitfull, in comparison of their owne. But there was never any such people found there, by any of the Spaniardes, Portingals, or Frenchemen, who firste discovered the Inlande of that Countrie: which Spaniardes, or Frenchemen, must then of necessitie, have seene some one Civil man in America, consideringe how full of civil people Asia is: But they never sawe so muche as one token, or signe, that ever any man of the knownen part of the worlde, had beene there.

4 Furthermore, it is to be thought, y^e if by reason of mountains, or other craggy places, ye people neither of Cataia, or Tartarie could enter ye countrie of America, or they of America, have entred Asia, if it were so joyned: yet some one savage, or wandring beast wold in so many yeres, have passed into it: but there hath not at any time been found any of ye beasts proper to Cataia, or Tartarie etc. in America: nor of those proper to America, in Tartarie, Cataia, etc. or ani part of Asia

Which thing proveth America, not only to be one Iland, and in no part adjoining to Asia, But also that the people of those Countreyes, have not had any traffyke with eache other.

5 Moreover, at the leaste some one of those painefull travellors, which of purpose have passed the Confines of both countreys, with intent only to discover, would, (as it is most likely) have gone from the one to the other: if there had bene any piece of lande, or Ismos, to have joyned them together, or else have declared some cause to the contrary.

6 But neither Paulus venetus, who lyved, and dwelt a long time, in Cataia, ever came into America, and yet was at the Sea coastes of Mangia, over against it, where he was imbarcked, and perfourmed a great Navigation along those Seas: Neither yet Verarzanus, or Franciscus vasques de Coronado, who travelled the North parte of America by lande, ever founde entrie from thence by land, to Cataia, or any part of Asia.

7 Also it appeareth to be an Iland, insomuche as the Sea runneth by nature circularly, from the East to the West, following the Diurnal motion of Primum Mobile, and carieth with it all inferiour bodies moveable, aswel celestial, as elemental: which motion of ye waters, is most evidently seene in the Sea, which lyeth on the Southside of Afrik, where the currant that runneth from the East to the West, is so strong (by reason of such motion) that the Portingales in ye voiages, Eastward to Callecute, in passing by Cap. De buona speranza, are enforced to make divers courses, the currant there being so swift, as it striketh from thence, all along Westward, upon the fret of Magellan, being distant from thence, nere the fourth parte of the longitude of the earth: and not having free passage and entrance, thorow that fret towards the West, by reason of the narrownesse of the said straite of Magellan, it runneth to salve this wrong (Nature not yelding to accidental restraints) all along the Easterne coasts of America, Northwardes, so farre as Cap. Fredo, beeing the farthest knowen place of the same continent, towards the North: which is about, 4800. leagues, reconing therewithal the trending of the land.

8 So that this Currant, being continually mainteined with such force, as Jaques Cartier affirmeth it to be, who mette with the same being at Bacallaos, as he sailed amongst the coastes of America, then, either it must of necessitie, have way to passe from Cap. Fredo, thorowe this frete, Westwarde towards Cataia, being knowen to come so farre, onely to salve his former wronges, by the authoritie before named: or els it must needes strike over, upon the coast of Island, Lappia, Finmarke, and Norway, (which are East from the said place, about 360. Leagues) with greater force, then it did from Cap. de buona Speranca, upon the fret of Magellan, or from the frete of Magellan to Cap. Fredo, upon whiche coastes, Jaques Cartier mette with the same, considering the shortnes of the Cut, from the said C. Fredo, to Island, Lappia, etc. And so the cause Efficient remaining, it would have continually followed along our coastes, through the narrowe seas, which it doth not, but is disgested about the North of Labrador, by some through passage there, thorow this fret.

*The Sea
hath three
motions
1 Motum
ab oriente
in occi-
dentem.
2 Motum
fluxus et
refluxus.
3 Motum
circula-
rem.
Ad caeli
motum
elementa
omnia
(excepta
terra)
mouentur.*

*Posita
causa,
ponitur
effectus.*

*Con-
terenus.*

The like course of the water, in some respect, happeneth in the Mediterrane Sea (as affirmeth Conterenus) whereas the currant, which commeth from Taniis, and the sea Euxinus, running along al the coasts of Greece, Italie, Fraunce, and Spaine, and not finding sufficient way out through Gibralter, by meanes of the straitnes of the fret, it runneth back againe, amongst the coasts of Barbarie, by Alexandria, Natolia, etc.

*An Objection
answered.*

*The Sea doth
evermore per-
forme this
circular mo-
tion, either in
Suprema, or
concaua sup-
erficie aquae.*

It may (peradventure) be thought, that this course of the sea, doth sometime surcease, and therby impugne this principle, because it is not discerned all along the coast of America, in such sort as Jaques Cartier found it: Whereunto I answere this: that albeit, in everie parte of the Coaste of America, or els where, this Currant is not sensibly perceived, yet, it hath evermore such like motion, either in the uppermost, or nethermost parte of the sea: as it may be proved true, if ye sinke a sayle by a couple of ropes, nere the ground, fastening to ye nethermost corners, two gun chambers, or other weights: by the driving whereof you shal plainly perceive, the course of the water, and Currant, running with such like course in the bottome.

By the like experiment, you may finde the ordinarie motion of the sea, in the Ocean: how farre soever you be of the land.

9 Also there commeth another Currant from out the North-east from the Scythian Sea (as M. Jynkinson a man of rare vertue, great travaile and experience, told me) which runneth Westwarde towards Labrador, as the other did, which commeth from the South: so that both these Currants, must have way thorowe this our frete, or else incountre together and runne contrary courses, in one line, but no suche conflictcs of streames or contrary courses are found about any parte of Labrador, or Terra nova, as witnesse our yerely fishers, and other saylers that way, but is there digested, as aforesaid, and founde by the experience of Barnard de la Tore, to fall into Mare del Sur.

*Ex Nihilo,
nihil fit.*

*One, and the
selfsame place
in the earth,
may be both
East and West
in sundry re-
spects: so that
this Oriental*

10 Furthermore, the Currant in the great Ocean, could not have bene maintained to runne continually one way, from the beginning of the world, unto this day had there not bene some thorow passage by the frete aforesaide, and so by circular motion, be brought againe to mainteine it selfe: For the Tides

and courses of the Sea, are maintained by their interchangeable motions: as freash rivers are by springes, and ebbing and flowing, by rarefaction and condensation.

So that it resteth not possible (so farre as my simple reason can comprehend) that this perpetual currant, can by any means be maintained, but only by continual reaccesse of the same water, which passeth thorow the fret, and is brought about thither againe, by suche Circular motion as aforesaid. And the certaine falling thereof by this fret, into Mare de sur, is proved by the testimonie and experience, of Barnarde del la Torre, who was sent from P. del la Nativita, to the Mulluccae, Anno. Dom. 1542. by commandement of Anthonie Mendoza, then Viceroy of Nova Hispania, which Barnarde, sayled 750. Leagues, on the Northside of the Aequator, and there mette with a currant, which came from the Northeast which drove him backe againe to Tidore.

Wherefore, this currant being proved to come from C. de buona Speranca, to the fret of Magellan, and wanting sufficient entrance there, by narrownes of the straite, is by ye necessitie of natures force, brought to Terra de Labrador, where Jaques Cartier met ye same, and thence certainly knowen, not to strike over upon Island, Lappia, etc. and founde by Barnarde de la Torre, in Mare del Sur, on the backside of America, therefore, this currant (having none other passage) must of necessitie, fall out thorow this our fret into Mare del Sur, and so trending by the Mulluccae, China, and C. De buona, speranca, maintaineth itself by circular motion which is all one in nature, with Motus ab Oriente in Occidentem.

So that it seemeth, we have now more occasion to doubt of our returne, then whether there be a passage that way, yea or no: which doubt, hereafter shalbe sufficiently removed. Wherefore, in mine opinion, reason it selfe, grounded upon experience, assureth us of this passage, if there were nothing els to put us in hope thereof. But least these might not suffice, I have added in this Chapter followinge, some further prooffe hereof, by the experience of such as have passed some part of this discoverie: and in the next adjoyning to that, the authoritie of those, which have sayled wholly, thorowe everie part thereof.

motion of the water, is brought to be circular (without repugnancie) by the regular course of Primum Mobile.

The flowing is occasioned by reason that the heate of the moone boyleth, and maketh the water thinne by way of rarefaction. And the ebbing commeth for want of that heate, which maketh the water to fall againe by way of condensation. An experience to proove the falling of this Currant, into Mare del Sur.

To prove by experience of sundrie mens travels, the opening of some part of this Northwest passage: wherby good hope remaineth of the rest.

Cap. 3.

PAULUS VENETUS, who dwelt many yeres in Cataia, affirmed that he sailed, 1500 myles, upon the coastes of Mangia, and Anian, towards the Northeast: alwayes finding the Seas open before him, not onely as farre as he went: but also as far as he could discern.

2 Also, Franciscus Vasques de Coronado, passing from Mexico by Cevola, through the countrey of Quivir, to Sierra Nevada, found there a great Sea, where were certaine Ships laden with Merchandize, the mariners wearing on their heades the pictures of certaine birdes, called Alcatrazzi, part whereof were made of golde, and parte of silver: who signified by signes, that they were 30. dayes comming thither: whiche likewise proveth, America by experience, to be disjoyned from Cataia, on that part, by a great Sea, because they coule not come from any parte of America, as Natives thereof: for that, so far as it is discovered, there hath not bene founde there, any one Shippe of that Countrey.

*Baros lib.
9. Of his
first
Decas.
cap. 1.*

3 In like maner, Johan. Baros, testifieth y^t the Cosmographers of China (where he himself had bene) affirme y^t the Sea coast, trendeth from thence, Northeast, to 50. degrees, of Septentrional latitude, being the farthest parte that way, whiche the Portingals had then knowledge of: And that the said Cosmographers, knewe no cause to the contrarie, but that it might continue further.

By whose experiences, America is proved to be seperate from those partes of Asia, directly against the same. And not contented with the judgements of these learned men only, I have serched, what might be further said, for the confirmation hereof.

*Lopes in
his hys-
torie of
India.*

4 And I found, that Franciscus Lopes de Gomara, affirmeth, America to be an Iland, and likewise Grondland: and that Grondland is distant from Lappia. 40. leagues, and from Terra de Labrador, 50.

5 Moreover, Alverus Nunnius, a Spaniarde and learned Cosmographer, and Jacobus Cartier, who made two voyages, into those partes, and sayled 500. myles, upon the Northeast coasts of America.

6 Likewise, Hieronimus Fracastorius, a learned Italian, and Traveller, in the North parts of the same land.

7 Also Verarsannus, a Florentine, having done ye like, heard say at Houchelaga in Nova Francia, how yt there was a great Sea at Saguinay, whereof the ende was not knowen: which they presupposed to be the passage to Cataia.

8 Furthermore, Sebastian Gabota, by his personall experience, and travell, hath set foorth, and described this passage, in his Charts, whiche are yet to bee seene, in the Queenes Majesties privie Gallerie, at White hall, who was sent to make this discoverie by King Henrie the seaventh, and entred the same fret: affirming, that he sailed very far westward, with a quarter of the North, on the Northside of Terra de Labrador, the eleventh of June, until he came to the Septentrional latitude of $67\frac{1}{2}$ degrees and finding the Seas still open, said, that he might, and would have gone to Cataia, if the Mutinie of the Maister and Mariners, had not ben.

Now, as these mens experience, have proved some parte of this passage: so the Chapter following, shal put you in full assurance of ye rest, by their experiences which have passed thorow every part thereof.

To prove by circumstance, that the Northwest passage, hath beene sayled thorough out.

Cap. 4.

THE diversity betwene brute beastes and men, or betwene the wise and the simple, is that the one judgeth by sense onely, and gathereth no suertie of anye thing that he hath not sene, fealt, heard, tasted, or smelled: And the other not so onely, but also findeth the certaintie of thinges by reason, before they happen to be tryed. Wherefore, I have added proofes of both sortes, that the one and the other might thereby be satisfied.

*Written in
the dis-
course of
Navigation.*

*Quinque
sensus.
1 Visus.
2 Auditus.
3 Olfactus.
4 Gustus.
5 Tactus.
Singularia
sensu,
universalia vero
mente per-
cipiuntur.*

1 First, as Gemma Frisius reciteth, there went from Europe, 3 brethren through this passage: whereof it tooke the name, of Fretum trium fratrum.

*lib. 2.
cap. 66.*

2 Also, Plinie affirmeth, out of Cornelius Nepos, (who wrote 57. yeres before Christ) that there were certain Indians driven by tempest, upon the coast of Germanie which were presented by ye King of Suevia, unto Quintus Metellus Celer, then Pro-consul of Fraunce.

3 And Plinie, upon the same, saith that it is no marvel, though there be Sea by the North, where there is such abundance of moisture: which argueth, that he doubted not of a Navigable passage that way, thorow which those Indians came.

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4 And for the better profe, that the same authoritie of Cornelius Nepos, is not by me wrested, to proove my opinion of the Northwest passage: you shal finde the same affirmed more plainely in that behalfe, by the excellent Geographer, Dominicus Marius Niger, who sheweth how many wayes the Indian Sea stretcheth it selfe, making in that place, recitall of certaine Indians, that were likewise driven through the North Seas from India, upon the coasts of Germanie, by great tempest, as they were sayling in trade of Merchandize.

*Avouched
by Franciscus
Lopes de
Gomara
in his
historie
of India.*

5 Also, whiles Frederic Barbarossa raigned Emperour, Anno D. 1160. there came certeine other Indians, upon the coaste of Germanie.

6 Likewise, Othon, in the storie of the Gothes affirmeth, that in the time of the Germane Emperours, ther were, also certain Indians cast by force of weather, upon the coast of the said Countrey: which foresaid Indians, coulde not possiblilie have come by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any part of Afrik, or America, nor yet by the Northeast: therfore they came of necessity, by this our Northwest passage.

To proove that these Indians aforementioned, came not by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any other part of Afrik, or America.

Cap. 5.

I **F**IRST, they coulde not come from the Southeast, by C. de buona Speranca, because ye roughnes of the Seas there, are such (occasioned by the Currants, and great windes, in that part) that the greatest Armados, the King of Portingale hath, cannot without great difficulty passe that way: much lesse then a Canoa of India coulde live in those outragious Seas, without Shipwracke (beeing a vessell but of verie small burden) and have conducted themselves to the place aforesaide, beeing men unexpert in the Art of Navigation.

2 Also, it appeareth plainly, that they were not able, to come from alongest the coast of Afrik aforesaide, to those partes of Europe, because the winds do (for the most part) blow ther Easterlie, of from the shore, and the Currante running that way, in like sort, should have driven them Westward, upon some part of America, for such windes and Tydes, coulde never have led them from thence, to the said place where they were found, Nor yet could they have come from any of the Countries aforesaid keeping the Seas alwayes without skilfull Mariners, to have conducted them such like courses, as were necessarie, to perfourme such a voyage.

3 Presupposing also, if they had bene driven to the west (as they must have beene comming that way) then they should have perished, wanting supplie of victuals, not having any place (once leaving the coaste of Afrik) until they came to America: nor from America, until they arrived upon some part of Europe, or the Ilandes adjoyning to it, to have refreshed themselves.

4 Also, if (notwithstanding such impossibilities) they might have recovered Germanie, by comming from India, by the Southeast, yet must they, without al doubt, have striken upon some other part of Europe, before their arrival there, as the Iles of Madera, Portingal, Spaine, Fraunce, England, Ireland, etc. which if they had done, it is not credible, that they should,

or would have departed, undiscovered of the inhabitants: but there was never found in these dayes, any such Ship or men, but onely upon the coasts of Germanie, where they have bene sundrie times, and in sundrie ages cast a land: Neither is it like, that they woulde have committed themselves againe to Sea, if they had so arrived, not knowing wher they were, nor whither to have gon.

*Why the
Indians
coule not
come by
the South-
west.*

5 And by the Southwest it is as impossible, because the currant aforesaide, which commeth from the East, striketh with such force upon the fret of Magellan, and falleth with such swiftnes and furie, into Mare de Sur, that hardly any ship (but not possible a Canoa, with such unskilfull Mariners) can come into our western Ocean, thorow that fret, from the west Seas of America, as Magellans experience hath partly taught us.

*That the
Indians
coule not
be natives
either of
Africa or
of
America.*

6 And further, to prove that these people, so arriving upon the coast of Germanie, were Indians, and not inhabters of anye part, either of Africa, or America, it is manifest: because the Natives both of Africa and America, neither had, or have, at this day (as is reported) other kinde of boates, then such as do beare neither masts, nor sayls, (except onely upon the Coastes of Barbarie and the Turks Shippes) but do carie themselves from place to place, neere the shore, by the ore onely.

To proove that those Indians came not by the Northeast, and that ther is no thorow Navigable passage that way.

Cap. 6.

1 **I**T is lykelie that there should be no thorowe passage by the Northeast, whereby to goe rounde about the world: because al seas (as aforesaide) are maintained by the abundance of water, waxing more shallow and shelffie towards the end, as we finde, it doth by experience, in Mare Glaciali, towards the East, which breedeth smal hope of any great continuance, of that Sea, to be Navigable towards the East, sufficient to sayle thereby, rounde about the worlde.

2 Also, it standeth scarcely with reason, that the Indians dwelling under Torrida Zona, could indure the injurie of the

colde ayre, about the Septentrional latitude of 80 degrees, under which elevation, the passage by the Northeast, cannot be (as the often experience had of al the South parts of it sheweth) seeing that some of the inhabitants of this colde Climat (whose summer is to them an extreame winter) have bene stricken to death, with the colde dampes of the ayre, about 72 degrees, by an accidental mishappe: and yet the ayre in such like Elevation is alwayes colde, and to colde for suche as the Indians are.

Quicquid naturali loco privatur, quam citissime corrumpitur. Qualis causa talis effectus.

3 Furthermore, the pearcing colde of the grose thicke ayre so neere the Pole, will so stiffen and furre the sayles, and shippe tackling, that no Mariner can either hoise or strike them (as our experience farre nerer the South, then this passage is presupposed to be, hath taught us) without the use whereof no voyage can be perfourmed.

4 Also, the ayre is so darkened, with continual mysts, and fogges, so neere the Pole, that no man can well see, either to guide his shippe, or direct his course.

5 Also the compasse at such elevation, doth verie sodenly varie: which thinges must of force, have bene their destructions, although they had beene men of muche more skil then the Indians are.

6 Moreover al Bayes, Gulffes and rivers, doe receive their increase upon the fludde, sensibly to be discerned, on the one side of the shoare, or the other, as many wayes as they be open to any maine sea, as Mare Mediterraneum, Mare Rubrum, Sinus Persicus, Sinus Bodicus, Thamisis, and al other known Havens, or rivers in any part of the world: and eche of them opening but on one part to ye mayne sea, do likewise receive their encrease upon the fludde, the same way, and none other, which Mare Glaciale doth, onely by the West (as M. Jynkinson affirmed unto me) and therefore it followeth that this Northeast sea, receiving increase but onely from the West, cannot possibly open to the maine Ocean, by the East.

Similium similis est ratio.

7 Moreover, the farther you passe into any sea, towards the end of it, on that parte which is shutte up from the mayne Sea (as in all those above mentioned) the lesse and lesse the Tydes rise and fall. The like whereof also happeneth in Mare Glaciale,

It may perhaps be found otherwise in some

one ryver,
by reason
of a bare
in the
entrance
or some
other like
accident.
*Quicquid
corrumpitur
a contrario
corrumpitur.
Omne
simile
gignit sui
simile.*

which proveth but small continuance of that sea, toward the East.

8 Also, the farther ye goe toward the East, in Mare Glaciale, the lesse salte the water is: whiche coulde not happen, if it were open to the salte Sea towardes the Easte, as it is to the Weste onely, seeing (Everie thinge naturally ingendereth his lyke) and then must it bee like salte throughout, as all the Seas are, in such like Climate, and Elevation.

And therefore it seemeth, that this Northeast sea is maintained by the river Oby, and such like fresshets as Mare Goticum, and Mare Mediterraneum, in ye uppermost parts therof, by ye river Nilus, Danubius, Neper, Tanais. etc.

9 Furthermore, if there were any such sea at that elevation, of like it should be alwayes frozen throughout (there being no tydes to hinder it) because the extreame coldnes of the ayre in the uppermost part, and the extreame coldnes of the earth in the bottome, the sea there being but of small depth, whereby the one accidental coldnes doth meete with the other, and the sunne not havinge their reflection so neere the Pole, but at verie blunt angles, it can never bee dissolved after it is frozen, notwithstanding the great length of their day: for that the sunne hath no heate at al in his light, or beams, but proceeding only by an accidentall reflection, whiche there wanteth in effect.

10 And yet if the sunne were of sufficient force in that elevation, to prevaile against this Ise, yet must it be broken before it can be dissolved, which cannot be but through the long continuance of the sunne above their Horizon, and by that time the summer woulde be so farre spent, and so great a darkenes and colde insue, that no man could be able to endure so colde, darke, and discomfortable a Navigation, if it were possible for him then, and there to live.

11 Further, the Ise being once broken, it must of force, so drive with the windes and Tydes, that no ship can sayle in those Seas, seeing our fishers of Island, and the Newe found Land, are subject to daunger, thorowe the great Ilandes of Ise, whiche fleete in the Seas, (to the saylers great daunger) farre to the South of that presupposed Passage.

12 And it cannot be, that this Northeast passage should be

any nerer the South, then before recited, for then it shoulde cut of Ciremissi, and Turbi, Tartarii, with Uzesucani, Chisani, and others from the Continent of Asia, which are knowen to be adjoyning to Scythia, Tartaria, etc. with the other part of the same Continent.

And if there were any thorough passage by the Northeast, yet were it to small purpose for our traffike, because no shippe of great burden, can Navigate in so shallowe a Sea: and shippes of small burden are very unfit and unprofitable, especially towards the blusteringe North, to perfourme suche a voyage.

To prove that the Indians afore named, came onely by the Northwest, which induceth a certeintie of our passage by experience.

Cap. 7.

IT is as likely, that they came by the Northwest, as it is unlikely that they should come, ether by the Southeast, Southwest, Northeast, or from any other parte of Africa, or America, and therefore this Northwest passage, having bene already so many wayes proved, by disproving of the others, etc. I shal the lesse nede in this place, to use many wordes otherwise then to conclude in this sort, That they came onely by the Northwest from England: havinge these many reasons to leade mee thereunto.

1 Firste, the one halfe of the windes of the compasse, might bring them by the Northwest, bearinge alwayes betweene two sheats, with which kinde of saylinge ye Indians are only acquainted, not having any use of a bowe, line, or quarter winde, without ye which no ship can possibly come either by the Southeast, Southwest, or Northeast, having so many sundrie capes to double, whereunto are required such chaunge and shift of windes.

2 And it seemeth likely, that they should come by the Northwest, because the Coast whereon they were driven, lay East from this our passage, And all windes, do naturally drive a Shippe to an opposite point, from whence it bloweth, not beeing otherwise guided by Art, which the Indians do utterly want.

*True, both
in ventis
oblique
flantibus
as also, in
ventis ex*

*diametro
spirantibus.*

And therefore it seemeth, that they came directly thorowe this our fret, which they might doe with one winde.

3 For if they had come by Cap. de buona Speranca, then must they (as aforesaid) have fallen upon the South partes of America.

4 And if by the fret of Magellan, then upon the coastes of Afrik, Spaine, Portingal, Fraunce, Ireland, or England.

5 And if by the Northeast, then upon the coasts of Cerecinissi Tartarii, Lappia, Island, Terra de Labrador, etc. and upon these coasts, (aforesaid) they have never bene found.

So that by all likelyhood, they coulde never have come, without shipwracke, uppon the coasts of Germanie, if they had first stricken upon the coastes of so manie countreys, wanting both Art and shipping, to make orderly discoverie: and altogether ignorant both in the Art of Navigation, and also of the Rockes, Flats, Sands, or Havens of those parts of the world, which in most of these places are plentifull.

6 And further it seemeth very likely, that the inhabitants of the most parte of those countries, by which they must have come, any other way besides, by the Northwest, being for the most part Anthropophagi, or men eaters, woulde have devoured them, slaine them, or (at the leaste wise) kept them as wonders for the gaze.

So that it plainly appeareth, that those Indians (which, as you have heard, in sundrie ages were driven by tempest, upon the shore of Germanie) came onely through our Northwest passage.

7 Moreover, the passage is certainly prooved, by a Navigation that a Portingal made, who passed thorow this fret: giving name to a Promontorie far within the same, calling it after his owne name, Promontoria Corterialis, neere adjoyning unto Polisacus fluvius.

8 Also one Scolmus a Dane, entred and passed a great part thereof.

9 Also there was one Salva Terra, a Gentleman of Victoria, in Spaine, that came by chaunce out of the West Indians, into Ireland, Anno, 1568. who affirmed the Northwest passage from us to Cataia, constantly to be beleaved in America, Navigable.

And further said, in the presence of Sir Henry Sidney (then Lord Deputie of Ireland) in my hearing, that a Frier of Mexico, called Andro Urdaneta, more then viii. yeares, before his then comming into Ireland, tolde him there, that he came from Mare de Sur into Germanie, through this Northwest passage, and shewed Salva Terra (at that time beeing then with him in Mexico) a Sea Carde made by his owne experience, and travel, in that voyage: wherein was plainly set downe and described, this Northwest passage: agreeing in al pointes with Hortelius Mappe.

And further, this Frier, tolde the King of Portingal, (as he returned by that countrey homewarde) that there was (of certaintie) suche a passage, Northwest from England, and that he ment to publishe the same: which done, the King most earnestly desired him, not in any wise to disclose, or make the passage knowne to any Nation: For that (said the King) If England had knowledge, and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the King of Spaine, and me. This Frier (as Salva Terra reported) was the greatest Discoverer by sea, that hath bene in our age. Also Salva Terra, beinge perswaded, of this passage by the Frier Urdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniardes, inhabiting America, offered most willingly to accompanie me in this Discoverie: which of like hee would not have done, if he had stooede in doubt thereof.

And now as these moderne experiences, cannot be impugned: So, least it might be objected, that these thinges (gathered out of auncient writers, which wrote so many yeres past) might serve little to prove this passage, by the North of America, because both America and India, were to them then utterly unknowen to remove this doubt, let this suffice: That Aristotle, (who was 300. yeres before Christ) named Mare Indicum. Also Berosus (who lived 330 yeres before Christ) hath these words, e Ganges in India. Also in the first Chapter of Hester be these words, In the dayes of Assuerus which ruled from India, to Aethiopia: which Assuerus lived 580 yeres before christ. Also Quintus Curtius (where he speaketh of the Conquests of Alexander) mencioneth India. Also, Arianus Philostratus, and Sidrach in his discourses of the warres of the king of Bactria,

*The
wordes of
the King
of Portin-
gal, to
Andro
Urdaneta
a Frier,
touchinge
the con-
cealing of
this
North-
west
passage
From
England
to Cataia.*

*An Ob-
jection.*

*Aristotle,
lib. de
mundo,
cap.
secund.
Berosus
lib. 5.*

and of Garaab, who had the most part of India under his government. Al which assureth us, that both India, and Indians were knowen in those dayes.

These things considered, we may (in my opinion) not only assure our selves of this passage, by ye Northwest, but also yt it is navigable, both to come and goe, as hath beene proved in part and in al, by the experience of divers, as Sebastian Gabota, Corterialis, the three brethren above named, the Indians, and Urdaneta the Frier of Mexico, etc.

And yet notwithstanding al which, there be some that have a better hope of this passage to Cataia, by ye Northeast, then by ye west: whose reasons, with my severall answeres, ensue in the Chapter following.

Certaine reasons, alledged for the proving of a passage by the Northeast, before the Queenes Majestie, and certaine Lordes of the Counsell, with my severall answeres, then used to the same.

Cap. 8.

BECAUSE you may understande, aswell those thinges alledged against me, as what doth serve for my purpose, I have here added the reasons of a worthy Gentleman, and a great traveller, who conceived a better hope of the passage to Cataia, from us, to bee by the Northeast, then by the Northwest: whom I have not named in this place, because I seeke to impugne his opinions, as followeth.

The Northwest Passage assented unto.

He first said, that he thought not to the contrarie, but that there was a passage by the Northwest, according to mine opinion: But assured he was, that there might be founde a Navigable passage, by the Northeast from England, to go to al the East partes of the worlde: which he endeavoured to proove three wayes.

The first reason.

The Morce, is a kinde of fish which the Tartarians do often hunt

The first was, that he heard a fisherman of Tartaria say, in hunting the Morce, that he sayled very far towards the Southeast, finding no ende of the Sea: whereby hee hoped a thorowe passage to bee that way.

Whereunto I answered, that the Tartarians were a barbarous

people, and utterly ignorant in the Art of Navigation, not knowing the use of the sea, Carde, compasse, or starre, which he confessed true: and therefore they coulde not (saide I) certainly know the Southeast, from the Northwest, in a wide sea, and a place unknownen, from the sight of the land.

*by water, and
greatly seeke
to kill.
The 'answere',
or resolution.*

Or if he sailed any thing nere the shore, yet he (being ignorant) might be deceived by the doubling of many points and Capes, and by the trending of the land: Albeit he kept continually along the shore.

And further, it might be, that the poore fisherman through simplicitie, thought that there was nothing that way but sea, because he saw no land: which prooffe (under correction) giveth smal assurance of a Navigable sea by the Northeast, to goe round about the worlde, For that he judged by the eye onely, seeinge wee in this our cleare ayre doe accompt 20 myles a ken at Sea.

*Visus nonnunquam fallitur
in suo objecto.*

His second reason is, that there was a Unicorne's horne founde upon the coaste of Tartaria, which could not come (saide he) thither, by any other meanes, then with the Tides, through some fret in the Northeast of Mare Glaciale, there being no Unicorne in any parte of Asia, saving in India, and Cataia: which reason (in my simple judgement) forceth as litle.

*The second
reason or alle-
gation.*

First it is doubtful, whether those barbarous Tartarians doe know an Unicorne's horne, ye, or no: and if it were one, yet it is not credible, that the sea could have driven it so farre, being of such nature that it will not swimme.

*The answer,
or resolution.*

Also the Tydes running to and froe, would have driven it as farre backe with the ebbe, as it brought it forward with the fludde.

There is also a beast called Asinus Indicus (whose horne most like it was) whiche hath but one horne, like an Unicorne, in his forehead, whereof there is great plentie, in al the North parts thereunto adjoyning: as in Lappia, Norvegia, Finmarke, etc. as Jacobus Zeiglerus writeth, in his historie of Scandia.

*Omne simile,
non est idem.*

And as Albertus saith, there is a fishe, which hath but one horne in his forehead like to an Unicorne, and therefore it seemeth very doubtful, both from whence it came, and whether it were an Unicorne's horne, yea, or no.

*Nulla ratio,
ab Ambiguo
certa sed fal-
la x.*

*The thirde and
last reason or
Assertion.
Colmaxes are
a people inha-
biting the
North part of
Asia.*

*The answer,
or resolution.*

His thirde and last reason was, that there came a continual streame, or currant through Mare Glaciale, of such swiftnesse (as a Colmax tolde him) that if you cast anything therin, it would presently be caried out of sight, towards the West.

Whereunto I answered, that there doth the like from Maeotis Palus, by Pontus Euxinus, Sinus, Bosphorus, and along the coaste of Graecia, etc. As it is affirmed by Contarenus, and divers others, that have had experience of the same: and yet that sea, lieth not open to any maine sea that way, but is maintained by fresshets, as by Taniis, Danubius, etc.

In like maner is this currant in Mare Glaciale increased, and maintained, by the Volgo, the river Oby, etc.

Now as I have here briefly recited the reasons alledged, to proove a passage to Cataia, by the Northeast, with my severall answeres thereunto: so will I leave it to your judgement, to hope or dispaire of either, at your pleasure.

How that the passage by the Northwest, is more commodious for our traffik, then the other by the East: if there were any such.

Cap. 9.

1 **F**IRST, by the Northeaste (if your windes doe not give you a marveyulous speedie, and luckie passage) you are in daunger (being so nere the Pole) to be benighted, almost the one halfe of the yeare, and what miserie and daunger that were, to live so long comfortlesse, voyde of light, (if the colde killed you not) eche man of reason or understanding may judge.

2 Also Mangia, Quingit, and the Molluccae, are neerer unto us by the Northwest, then by the Northeast, more then $\frac{2}{5}$ parts which is almost by the halfe.

3 Also wee may have by the West, a yerely returne, it being at al times Navigable, wheras you have but six moneths, in the whole yere, to goe by the Northeast: the passage beinge at such elevation, as it is formerly expressed, for it cannot be any neerer the South.

4 Furthermore, it cannot be finished without divers wintrings by the way, having no havens in any temperate Climate,

to harbour in ther. For it is as much as we can well sayle, from hence to S. Nicholas, in the trade of Muscovia, and return in the Navigable season of the yeare, and from S. Nicholas to Cerimissi Tartarii, which standeth at 80 degrees of the Septentrional latitude, it is at the least 400 Leagues, which amounteth scarce to the thirde part of the way, to the ende of your voyage by the Northeast.

5 And yet after you have doubled this Cape, if then there might be found a navigable sea, to cary you Southeast, according to your desire, yet can you not winter conveniently, until you come to 60 degrees, and to take up one degree running Southeast, you must sayle 24 leagues $\frac{3}{4}$ which amounteth to 495 leagues.

6 Furthermore, you may by the Northwest, saile thither with al Easterly winds, and returne with any westerly windes, wheras you must have by the Northeast sundrie windes, and those proper, accordinge to the lying of the coastes and capes, you shalbe inforced to double, which windes are not alwayes to be had, when they are looked for: wherby your journey should be greatly prolonged, and hardly endured so nere the Pole. As we are taught by Sir Hugh Wiloughbie, who was frozen to death far nerer the South.

7 Moreover, it is very doubtfull, whether we should long enjoy that trade by ye Northeast, if there were any such passage that way, the commodities therof once knowen to the Muscovite, what privelege soever he hath graunted, seeing policie with the Maze of excessive gaine, to the enriching (so greatly) of himselfe and all his dominions, would persuade him to resume the same, having so great opportunitie, to utter the commodities of those countreys by the Narve.

But by the Northwest, wee may safely trade without daunger, or annoyance, of any prince living, Christian, or heathen, it being out of al their trades.

8 Also ye Queenes Majesties dominions, are nerer the Northwest passage, them any other great princes that might passe that way, and both in their going and returne, they must of necessitie succour themselves and their shippes, upon some parte of the same, if any tempestious weather shoulde happen.

Further, no Princes Navie of the world, is able to encounter the Queenes Majesties Navie, as it is at this present: and yet it should be greatly increased, by the traffike ensuing upon this discoverie, for it is the long voyages, that increase and maintaine great shipping.

Now it seemeth necessarie, to declare what commodities would grow thereby, if al these things were, as we have heretofore presupposed, and thought them to be: which next adjoyning are briefly declared.

What commodities would ensue, this passage once discovered.

Cap. 10.

1 **F**IRST, it were the onely way for our princes, to possesse ye welth of all the East partes (as they tearme them) of the worlde, which is infinite: as appeareth by the experience of Alexander the great, in the time of his conquest of India, and other the East partes of the worlde, alledged by Quintus Curtius, which would be a great advauncement to our Countrie, wonderfull enriching to our Prince, and unspeakable commodities to all the inhabitants of Europe.

2 For through the shortnesse of the voyage, we should be able to sell all maner of Merchandize, brought from thence, far better cheape, then either the Portingal, or Spaniarde doth, or may doe: And further, share with the Portingal in the East, and the Spaniarde in the West, by trading to any part of America, through Mare de Sur, wher they can no maner of way offend us.

3 Also we may saile to divers marveilous riche Countries, both Civil and others, out of both their jurisdictions, trades and traffiks, where ther is to be found great abundance of gold, silver, precious stones, Cloth of golde, silkes, all maner of Spices, Grocery wares, and other kindes of Merchandize, of an inestimable price: which both the Spaniarde, and Portingal, through the length of their journeys, can not well attaine unto.

4 Also we might inhabite some parte of those Countreys, and settle there suche needie people of our Countrie, which now

trouble the common welth, and through want here at home, are inforced to commit outrageous offences, whereby they are dayly consumed with the Gallowes.

5 Moreover, we might from all the aforesaid places, have a yerely retourne, inhabiting for our staple some convenient place of America, about Sierra Nevada, or some other part, wheras it shal seeme best for the shortening of the voyage.

6 Beside the uttering of our Countrie commodities, which the Indians, etc. much esteeme: as appeareth in Hester where the pompe is expressed, of the great King of India, Assuerus, who matched the coloured clothes, wherewith his houses and tents, were apparelled, with golde and silver, as part of his greatest treasure: not mencioning either velvets, silkes, cloth of golde, cloth of silver, or suche like, being in those countreys most plentiful: wherby it plainly appeareth, in what great estimation, they woulde have the clothes of this our countrey, so that there would be founde a farre better vent for them, by this means, then yet this realme ever had: and that without depending, either upon Fraunce, Spaine, Flaunders, Portingal, Hamborowe, Emdem, or any other part of Europe.

*Hester.
cap. 1.*

7 Also, hereby we shall increase, both our shippes, and mariners, without burdening of the state.

8 And also have occasion, to set poore mens children, to learne handie craftes, and therby to make trifles and such like, which the Indians and those people doe muche esteeme: By reason whereof, there should be none occasion, to have our countrey combred with loyterers, vagabonds, and such like idle persons.

All these commodities would growe, by following this our Discoverie, without injurie done to any Christian prince, by crossing them in any of their used trades, whereby they might take any just occasion of offence.

Thus have I briefly shewed you, some part of the groundes of mine opinion, trusting that you wil no longer judge me fantastike in this matter: seeing I have conceived no hope of this voyage, but am persuaded thereunto, by the best Cosmographers of our age, the same being confirmed, both by reason and certaine experiences.

Also this discoverie, hath bene divers times heretofore by others, both offered attempted, and perfourmed.

It hath bene offred by Stephen Gomes unto Carolus the fifth Emperour, in the yere of our Lord God 1527, as Alphonso Ulloa testifieth, in ye story of Carolus life: who would have set him forth in it (as the storie mencioneth) if ye great want of money, by reason of his long warres, had not caused him to surcesse the same.

This discoverie offered. And the King of Portingal, fearing lest the Emperour would have persevered in this his enterprise, gave him, to leave the matter unattempted, the sum of 350000 Crownes: and it is to be intended that the King of Portingal, would not have given to the Emperour, such summes of money for egges in mooneshine.

This discoverie attempted. It hath bene attempted by Cortierialis the Portingal, Scolmus the Dane, and by Sebastian Gabota, in the time of King Henry the seventh.

*This discoverie per-
fourmed.* And it hath beene perfourmed, by the three brethren, the Indians aforesaide, and by Urdaneta, the Frier of Mexico.

Also divers have offered the like, unto the Frenche King, who hath sent two or three times to have discovered the same. The discoverers, spending and consuming their victuals, in searching the gulfes, and bayes, betweene Florida, and Terra de Labrador, whereby the Ise is broken to the after commers.

So that the right way, may now easily be founde out, in short time: and that with litle joperdie and lesse expences.

The labour of this discoverie shortened by other mens travel. For America is discovered, so farre towards the North as Cape Fredo, which is at 62 degrees, and that part of Grondland next adjoyning, is knowen to stand but at 72. So that we have but 10 degrees, to sayle North and South, to put the worlde out of doubt hereof: and it is likely, that the King of Spaine, and the King of Portingal, would not have sate out al this while, but that they are sure to possesse to themselves, all that trade they now use, and feare to deale in this Discoverie, least the Queenes Majestie, having so good opportunitie, and finding the commoditie, which thereby might ensue to the common welth: would cutte them of, and enjoye the whole traffique to her selfe, and thereby the Spaniardes and Portingals, with their great charges, should but beate the bushe, and other men catche the

*Why the king of Spaine and Portingal would not perse-
ver in this discoverie.*

birds: which thinge they foreseeing, have commaunded, that no Pylate of theirs, upon payne of death, shoulde seeke to discover to the Northwest, or platte out in any sea carde, any thorowe passage that way, by the Northwest.

Now, and if you wil indifferently, compare the hope that remaineth, to animate me to this enterprise, with those likeli-hoodes which Columbus alledged before Ferdinando, the King of Castilia, to proove that there were such Ilands in the west Ocean, as were after, by him and others discovered, to the great commoditie of Spaine and all the worlde: you will thinke then this Northwest passage, to be most worthy travell therein.

For Columbus had none of the west Ilands set forth unto him, either in globe, or card, neither yet once mencioned of any writer, (Plato excepted, and the commentaries upon the same) from 942 yeres before Christ, until that day.

Moreover, Columbus himself, had neither seene America or any other of the Ilands about it, neither understoode he of them, by the report of any other that had seene them, but onely comforted himself with this hope, that the land had a beginninge, where the sea had an ending: For as touching that, which the Spaniards doe write of a Biscaine, which shuld have taught him ye way thither, it is thought to be imagined of them, to deprive Columbus of his honour, beeing none of their countreyemen, but a stranger borne.

And if it were true of the Biscaine, yet did he but rove at the matter, or (at the least) gathered the knowledge of it, by conjectures onely.

And albeit, my selfe have not seene this passage, or any part thereof, but am ignorant of it as touching experience, (as Columbus was before his attempt made) yet have I, both the report, relation, and authoritie, of divers most credible men, which have both seene and passed through some, and everie part of this discoverie: besides sundrie reasons, for my assurance thereof: all which Columbus wanted.

These things considered, and indifferently wayed together, with the wonderful commodities which this discoverie may bring, especially to this realme of England: I must needes conclude with Hieronimus Fracastorius, and divers other learned

men, who said, that this discoverie hath bene reserved, for some noble Prince, or worthy man, therby to make himselfe rich, and the world happie: desiringe you to accept in good part, this brieft and simple discourse, written in hast, which if I may perceive, that it shal not sufficiently satisfie you in this behalfe, I will then imparte unto you a large discourse, which I have written only of this discoverie.

And further, because it sufficeth not, onely to know that such a thing there is, without abilitie to perfourme the same, I wil at more leasure make you partaker, of another simple discourse of Navigation, wherein I have not a litle travelled, to make my selfe as sufficient, to bring these things to effect, as I have bene readie to offer my selfe therein.

And therein I have devised to amende the errorrs of usuall sea cardes, whose common fault is, to make the degrees of longitude, in everie latitude, of one like bignes.

And have also devised therein, a Spherical instrument, with a compasse of variation, for the perfect knowing of the longitude.

And a precise order to prick the sea carde, together with certaine infallible rules for the shortening of any discoverie; to know at the first entring of any fret, whether it lye open to the Ocean, more wayes then one, how farre soever the sea stretcheth it selfe, into the land.

Desiring you hereafter, never to mislike with me, for the taking in hand of any laudable and honest enterprise, for if through pleasure or idlenes we purchase shame, ye pleasure vanisheth, but the shame remaineth for ever.

*Periat qui
umbras
timet.* And therefore to give me leave without offence, alwayes to live and die in this minde, That he is not worthie to live at all, that for feare, or daunger of death, shunneth his countrey service, and his owne honour, seeing death is inevitable, and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, Mutare vel timere sperno.¹

¹ The corrigenda ('Faultes escaped in the printing') have been incorporated in the text.



These Bokes are to be folde
at the shop of Richard Iones,
 at the VVest ende of Saint Pauls
Church, betweene the Brasen Pillar,
 and Lollards Tower.



16. [1576-7]. MICHAEL LOK ON GILBERT'S *Discourse*¹.

Allso [Sir] Humfrey Gilbert Knight hath byn of many yeres (as I am enformed) a great good willer to this like enterpri[se] And syns I came acquainted with him (which was abo[ut] Easter last Anno Domini 1575) I have hard hym make dyvers good discourses in the favour therof, and allso his go[od] will & Study therein doth well appere in the Boke which he made & put into prynt in the monethe of May, Anno 1575² for the mayntenance of the good hope & likelyhood in this enterprise of new discovery. Whereby men may see many good Causes to move them to like well thereof: Allthough to say the very Truthe without geving any Offence: neither that Boke comming owt so late, nor yet his former discourses being none others than were wel[l] known to us long before, were any mann[er] of Causes o[r] Instructions to the chief Enterprisers of this New Voyage of Discovery to attempt the same or to direct us therin./

17. —SEPTEMBER 1577. JOHN DEE ON GILBERT'S *Discourse*³.

For, whereas, about, 3. or 4. monthes last, past, a vertuous⁴ Gentleman and Marchant, with zealous Intent, for the Avancement of God his glory, and the great Commoditie and honor of this kingdom, procured unto him, Worshipfull, yea and Honorable Ayde also; to set furth Ships, for a Northwest discovery: And shortly after, there came abrode, in Print, a little English book, containing some probable reasons, tending to the perswasion of the same Cours and voyage: In the Epistle of which little book, no small pece of Credit (for the Attempt to be liked of) was ascribed to M. Dee his Judgement, (as, there, is to be sene) set down, in his Mathematicall Praeface, with the English

¹ Cotton MS. Otho E VIII, f. 44v. Extract. Printed by Collinson, *Three voyages of Martin Frobisher*, p. 91.

² Part of the last figure is burnt off, but from what remains the probability is that it is a five and not a six, although the *Discourse* was published with the date 12 April 1576.

³ *General & rare memorials pertayning to the perfect arte of navigation*, p. 2. Extract from address to Christopher Hatton.

⁴ M. M. Lok. Dee's note.

Euclide, published: So it came to pass, that it was his wurshipfull freend (M. Edward Dyer) his fortune, First to Advertise him (as he told me) both of the sayd book, by the Title thereof: and of his Name, in the foresayd Epistle (to good purpose) used. Whereupon, he, calling to Remembrance his old Atlantickall Discourses, to the self same purpose (at the sayd M. Dyer his request) almost ten yeres sins, set down in writyng: And perusing throughly all reasons and allegations (both Pro and Contra) now, in the sayd Pamphlet expressed: did, furthwith, by every Article thereof, in the Margent, Note their value, or imperfection. And, straight way, after that, made a new Collection, for the same voyage, very probable. And thirdly (the same day) writ, 18. new Considerations of his own: very pleasant, in probabilitie, for an other voyage of Discovery: (in respect of Safetie, Nerenes, and Commoditie) nothing inferior to that, which they, now, have undertaken, God send them good spede.

And, M. Dee, being thus furnished, aswell to maintein probably his former Judgement (by M. Gascoyn recited, in the foresayd Epistle) and intending to geve those his 18. new and very straunge Articles of Consideration, to him or them, whom he should deme apt and desirous to further the sayd Discovery (no less, then this was by a discrete, carefull, diligent, and constant Procurer, follower and funderer, brought to the present execution): And also, purposing freendly to examin, and faithfully to Instruct M. Capitain Frobisher, and M. Christopher Hall, and other, that should have the chardge about the sayd Northwest Discovery (As he was, partly by the right worshipfull Sir Leonell Duckett Knight, and partly by M. Frobisher him self, before that, requested to doo) made, then, no delay, to repayr to the Moscovy house: Where, he found him self courteously and very worshipfully entertained. And at that tyme of his abode there, and after that, at sundry other tymes, of his Resort, thither, and to their Ships, he proceded so with them, according to his Intent :

18. 10 MAY 1578. THOMAS CHURCHYARD ON THE *Discourse*¹.

Well, I admitte that many maie mislike this travail², and shewe many perswasions for the maintenance of their dislikyng, yet considering that a verie wise and learned Gentleman (called Sir Humfrey Gilberte) hath written of this enterprise, and verie grave and honorable personages doe sette their helpyng handes to the same, the mislikers should either hold their peace, or put in practize a matter of more importance, or at the least beholde the successe of the nexte journey, with more silence, and less murmuryng.

¹ *A prayse, & reporte of maister M. Forboishers voyage to Meta Incognita.* Extract.

² He is writing of the North-west Passage and of Frobisher's third expedition which was just about to leave.

CHAPTER IV
THE FIRST EXPEDITION
1577-79

But such that seekes, for fame in foren place,
Forsakes great ease, & welth where they were bred,
Are speshall men, and do deserve more grace,
Than all the rest, what ever may be sed.
Leaves wife and friends, to try the tumbling seas,
Makes open sale, of life and all they have,
Are men that may, both prince and country pleas,
Who shall of right, be honord to their grave.

CHURCHYARD, *A pleasant discourse of court and wars.*

19. 26 MAY 1577. FIRST MENTION OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT IN JOHN DEE'S DIARY¹.

The water Bayly / Sir Humfry Gilbert The prenter

20. 23 AUGUST 1577. HENRY KILLEGREW TO WILLIAM DAVISON².

. . . ther is no certayne newis yet of the king of portingalles navy by sea but ser Umphrey Gylbert is in Devonshire Readye to crosse sayles he will make us all plesed at his Resolve. Drake (that went in the Spring is not hard of but yf he doe not myscarry his jorney wyll yeld myche [good (?) to] our navigation. I make no smale [hope of (?) that] man. ther is one oxenden [Oxenham] now in perow that hath 150000 li. in gold but he hath no shipping nor meanes to bring yt thence. Ser Umphery Gylbert som think wyll Relyve hem.

¹ Bodleian, Ashmole MS. 487. The item is crossed through.

² State Papers Foreign, Holland and Flanders. SP 83/2, 43. Extract. From London.

21. 6 NOVEMBER 1577. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT VISITS JOHN DEE¹.

Sir Umfrey Gilbert cam to me to Mortlak.

22. 6 NOVEMBER 1577. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, 'A DISCOURSE HOW HIR MAJESTIE MAY ANNOY THE KING OF SPAYNE²'.

A discourse how hir Majestie may annoy the k: of Spayne³.

I am bowld (most excellent Sovereigne) to exercise my pen touching matters of state, because I am a syllie member of this Common Weale of England, and doe not offer myself therein as an Instructor, or a reformer, but as a Welwiller to your Majestie and my Countrie, wherein the meanest or simplest ought not to yeeld them selves second to the best, or wisest. In which respect I hope to be pardoned, if through want of judgement I be mistaken herein. And so to the matter.

The safety of Principates, Monarchies, and Common Weales rest chiefly in making their enemies weake, and poore, and themselves strong and rich, Both which god hath specially wrought for your majestes safety, if your highness shall not overpas good opportunities for the same, when they are offered. For your neighbours infelicities through civill warres, hath weakened and impoverished them both by sea, and land, And hath strengthened your Majestes Realme both by thone, and thother, which thinge is so manifest, that it weare more then in vayne, to go about to prove the same. And for that that this your Majestes Realme of England requireth other consideracions then those which are of ther continent, I will omit them, and sypnn a threed proper for our English loomes.

First your highnes owght undoubtedly to seeke the kingdome of heaven, and upon that fowndacion to beleve that there can never be constant, and firme league of amytie betwene those

¹ John Dee, 'Diary,' Bodleian, Ashmole MS. 487. Printed by Halliwell, p. 3.

² State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/118, 12 (i). Printed by Gosling, pp. 133-9.

³ This title is in the margin in a different hand from the body of the document.

princes, whose division is planted by the woorme of thier consciences. So that their leagues and fayre wordes, ought to be held but as mermaydes songes, sweet poysons, or macquesites, that abuse with outward plawsabilitye, and gay showes. For in troth as in such leagues there is no assurance, so Christian princes ought not for any respect to combyne themselves in amytie, with such as are at open and professed warres with god himselfe. For non est consilium omnino contra deum. So that no state or common weale can florish, where the first and principall care is not for goddes glorie, and for thadvaunsing of the pollisies of his spirituall kingdom, which donn, your majestie is to thinck that it is more then tyme to pare their nayles by the stumpes, that are most readie prest to plucke the crowne (as it were in despite of god) from your highnes head, not only by foraine force: also by stirring up of home factions. And therefore the best waie is first to purge, or at least wise to redresse your owne kingdome of their suspected adherentes, I meane not by banishment, or by fire, and sworde, but by diminishing their habilities by purse, creditt and force. Then to foresee by all diligente meanes, that your suspected neighbors may not have opportunity to recover breath whereby to repayre their decayed losses; which for your safetie is principally to be don, by the farther weakning of their navies, and by preserving and increasing of your owne.

And the deminishing of their forces by sea is to be done eyther by open hostilytie, or by some colorable meanes; as by geving of lycence under lettres patentes to discover and inhabyte some strange place, with speciall proviso for their safetyes whome pollisy requyreth to have most annoyed by which meanes the doing of the contrarie shalbe imputed to the executors fawlt; your highnes lettres patentes being a manyfest shewe that it was not your Majestes pleasure so to have it. After the publick notyse of which fact, your Majestie is either to avowe the same (if by the event thereof it shall so seme good) or to disavowe both them and the fact, as league breakers, leaving them to pretend yt as done without your pryvitie, either in the service of the prince of Orange or otherwise.

This cloake being had for the raigne, the way to worke the

feate is to sett forth under such like colour of discoverie, certayne shippes of warre to the N. L. [New Land] which with your good licence I will undertake without your Majestes charge; in which place they shall certainly once in the yeere meete in effecte all the great shipping of Fraunce, Spayne, and Portyn-gall, where I would have take and bring awaye with their fragthes and ladinges, the best of those shippes and burn the woorst, and those that they take to carrie into Holland or Zeland, or as pirattes to shrowd them selves for a small time uppon your Majestes coastes, under the frendship of some certayne vice-admirall of this Realme; who may be afterwarde committed to prison, as in displeasure for the same, against whose returnes, six monthes provision of bread, and fower of drinck to be layd in some apt place: together with municion to serve for the number of five or six thousand men, which men with certaine other shippes of warr being in a readyness, shall pretend to inhabit St. Lawrence Island¹, the late discovered Contries in the North, or elsewhere, and not to joyne with the others but in some certaine remote place at sea.

The setting forth of shipping for this service will amounte to no great matter, and the retourne shall certainly be with greate gayne, For the N. F. [Newland Fish] is a principall and rich and everie where vendible merchaundise: and by the gayne thereof, shipping, victuall, munition, and the transporting of five or six thousand soldiours may be defrayed.

It may be sayd that a fewe shippes cannot possibilie distres so many: and that although by this service yow take or destroy all the shipping you find of theirs in those places: yet are they but subjectes shippes, their owne particular navies being nothing lessened therby, and therefore their forces shall not so much be diminyshed, as yt is supposed, whereunto I answere.

There is no doubt to performe it without dawnger. For although they may be many in number, and great of burthen, yet are they furnished with men, and munition, but like fishers, and when they come upon the coastes, they do alwaies disperse them selves into sundry portes, and do disbarke the moste of their people into small boates for the taking and drying of their fish,

¹ Probably Anticosti.

leaving fewe or none aborde their shippes, so that there is as little doubt of the easie taking, and carrying of them away: as of the decaying hereby of those princes forces by sea. For their owne proper shippings are very fewe, and of small forces in respect of the others, and their subjectes shipping being once destroyed, yt is likely that they will never be repaired, partly through the decaye of the owners, and partly through the losses of the trades whereby they mainteyned the same / For everie man that is hable to build shippes doth not dispose his wealth that waye, so that their shipping being once spoyled, yt is likely that they will never be recovered to the like number and strength, but if they should yt will requiei [*sic*] a long time to season timber for that purpose, all which space we shall have good opportunity to proceed in our farther enterprises / And all the meane tyme the forsayd princes shall not only be disapointed of their forces as aforesaid, but also leese great revenues, which by traffick they formerly gayned; and shall therewithall endure great famine for want of such necessarie victualles &c. as they former enjoyed by those voyages.

It may also be objected that although this may be done in act, yet it is not allowable, being against your Majestes league: for although by the reach of reason mens Ies may be obscured, yet unto God nothing is hidden, which I answere thus.

I hold it as lawfull in christen pollicie, to prevent a mischief betime: as to revenge it to late, especiallie seing that god him selfe is a party in the common quarrelles now a foote, and his ennemy malitiose disposition towards your highnes, and his Church manifestlie seen, although by godes mercifull providence not yet throughlie felt /

Further it may be saide that if this should be done by Englishmen under what colour soever they should shrowd themselves, yet will that cut us off from all trafficke with those that shalbe annoyed by such meanes; and thereby utterlie undoe the state of merchandise, decaye the mayntenaunce of the shipping of this Realme and also greatly diminishe your Majestes customes to which I replie thus.

To prevent theise daungers (that although your highnes may at the first distres both the FRENCH, SPANYSHE, and PORTIN-

GALL yet there needeth none to be towched but the SPANIARDES, and PORTINGALL, or the SPANIARDES alone) by the want of those whose traffick there is no necessity of such decaye and losses as partly appeared by the late restraunte betwene your Majesty and them. And the forces of the SPANIARDES and PORTINGALLS, being there so much decayed as aforesaid; The FRENCH of necessitie shalbe brought under your highnes lye / assuring your majesty the case being as it is, it were better a thousand folde thus to gayne the start of them, rather then yerely to submitt our selves subject to have all the marchauntes shippes of this Realme stayed in their handes: whereby they shalbe armed at our costes, to beate us with rodde of our owne making, and ourselves thereby spoyled both of our owne wealth and strength.

And touching the contynuaunce of traffick wherewith to increase and maintaine our shipping, and your majestes revenues, and also to provide that the prices of sotherne wares shall not be so inhaunced to the detriment of the Comon weale: there may be good meanes found for the preventing thereof, as hereafter followeth /

It is true if we shold indure the losse of those trades, and not recover those commodities by some other meanes: that then your Majesty might be both hindred in shippinge, and customes, to the great decaie of the comon Weale. But if your highnes will permit me, with my associates eyther overtly or covertly to perfourme the aforesaide enterprise: then with the gayne thereof there may be easely such a competent companie transported to the W. I. [West Indies] as may be hable not only to dispossesse the S. [Spaniards] thereof, but also to possesse forever your Majestie and Realme therewith, and thereby not only be countervaille, but by farr to surmounte with gaine, the aforesaid supposed losses: besides the gowld and silver Mynes, the profit of the soyle, and the inward and outward customs from thence, By which meanes your highnes doubtfull frendes, or rather apparaunte enemies, shall not be only made weake and poore, but therewith your selfe, and Realme made strong and rich, both by sea, and by lande, as well there, as here. And where both is wrought under one, it bringeth a most happy conclusion,

So that if this may be well brought to passe (where of there is no doubt) then have we hitt the mark we shott at, and wonn the goale of our securities to the immortall fame of your Majestie / For when your enemyes shall not have shipping, nor meanes left them whereby to maintayne shipping, to annoy your Majestie nor your subjectes be any longer enforced for want of other trades to submitt them selves to the daunger of their arrestes, then of force this Realme being an Iland shall be discharged from all forraine perills, if all the MONARCHIES of the world should joyne against us, so long as IRELAND shal be in self keping, the league of SCOTLAND maintayned, and further amitie concluded with the prince of ORANGE and the King of DENMARK. By which meanes also your majestie shall ingraffe and glewe to your crowne, in effect all the Northerne and Southerne viages of the world, so that none shalbe then well hable to crosse the seas, but subject to your highnes devocion: considering the great increase of shipping that will growe, and be maynetayned by those long vyages, extending themselves so many sundrie wayes. And if I may perceave that your highnes shall like of this enterprise, then will I most willinglie expresse my simple opinion, which waye the W. I. [West Indies] maye without difficultie be more surprised, and defended, without which resolution it were but labour lost. But if your Majestie like to do it at all, then wold I wish your highnes to consider that delay doth often tymes prevent the perfourmaunce of good thinges: for the Winges of mans life are plumed with the feathers of Death. And so submitting my self to your Majesties favourable judgement I cease to trouble your highnes any further. Novembris: 6. 1577.

Your Majestes most faithfull
servaunt and subject.

H. Gylberte¹

¹ The signature has been heavily stroked through with a pen but it can be read clearly enough. It is almost certainly in Gilbert's hand. The body of the document is not. The two discourses are in the same hand and are grouped together on the same paper.

23. [6 NOVEMBER 1577]. [SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT], 'A DISCOURSE HOW HIR MAJESTIE MAY MEETE WITH AND ANNOY THE KING OF SPAYNE'¹.

It is most certaine and true that the king of Spaine is wholie addicted to the Pope and is the chiefe mayntainer of the Romish religion and so hath sworne divers and sundry tymes to mayntayne the Church of Rome to the uttermost of his power and therby an enemye to all others that be not of the same religion, Also the whole troupe of Papists have reposed their assured trust and confidence in him, and so arest hoping for a daie to serve their tourne, wherefore so long as they be of that religion and we of ours there can be betwene us and them no good friendship.

Also in like manner the Clergie of Spaine with the holie Inquisitours, finding them selves to have such power in matters of religion as they have both over the king and all his subjectes, do not forget what they have to do in defence of their quarrell wherein with all diligence like careful persons losing no tyme that may serve for their purpose they execute the same to the losse both of lyfe and goodes of divers strangers trading into those Cuntries, without regard of any league or amitie of any religious prince whatsoever.

In like manner in all the dominions of the king of Spaine where the sayd Inquisitors and Clergie do and may rule, the labour with all diligence to make the people beleve that only their religion is the thing that most pleaseth god, and that all other religions be abhominable heresies wherby the people are brought to hold us to be worse then Turkes and that they may with a good conscience do to us any harm as to a Turke or Saracen assuring themselves that in so doing they do god good service: Thus these men having this rooted in their hearts supersticion and false religion must needs hate us that seeke to advaunce only the sincere and pure religion of god according to his holy worde.

¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/118, 12 (ii). No. 22 occupies ff. 1-3 and no. 23 ff. 4-5v, leaving f. 3v blank. The latter ends at f. 5v in the middle of a gathering and may be incomplete. It is printed by Gosling, pp. 139-44.

Item also it is right well knowne that the Queenes Majestie is the chiefe head of the Church of Christ and so an enemie to the Church of Rome, wherby it is certaine that the king of Spaine with all those of his affinitie must neades be enemyes to the Queenes Majestie and the realme of England / And it is most certayne if any time may serve them they will execute their malice to the uttermoste of their powere without any regard or respect of frendship promysed, so that it is right neadefull to provide before hand howe to be in a redines to withstand theire great malice and hatred And although that the present necessity may breade some cloaked meanes of frendship yet this cankered sore must neades rype and breake forth to some great harme, happen it where and when it will unles god alter the matter the which he maye when it pleaseth him, as it is most truly sayd man purposeth and god disposeth. It is godes will that men do theire best in all good causes and then he will do the rest that they cannot perfourme to withstand so great enemies, and especiallie those that be meerely against the trewe religion of god as the Spaniardes be.

Item who seeth not howe severe they be in Spaine in the goverment and maintenaunce of the matters of theire religion and howe loose and careles we be in the maintenaunce of ours? It is therefore to be loked for whether of those two is likeliest by mans reason to prevayle. The same doth bread great cause to put this matter in question to feare the sequell and to provide for the same.

Nowe theise matters considered it is good cause to provide before hand howe and by what meanes such and so great a prince as the king of Spaine is / with all the whole troupe of the Catholickes may best be withstanded and most endamaged with least charges to the Queenes Majesty / and most assuraunce to the realme if at tyme he shall move warr to the Queenes Majestie as by all the reasons before alledged doth appeare that it is to be doubted he will / Therefore according to my dutie and to the best of my poore knowledg I do shewe hereafter following by what meanes the king of Spaine may be brought to knowe that any kinde of peace shalbe better for him then warres with England.

Although I knowe myself to be most unhable to take upon me

with plentie of fish both in the sea and in the Rivers. There is also many good mynecs of divers sortes of Mettalles as Copper leade and silver good portes for Shippes.

The second way by which the king of Spaine may mightely be troubled when neade shall requier is by taking of the fleetes that comes out of the Ilandes homewardes for Spaine, in the which commeth all the kinges treasure and of the Subjectes also the which treasure hath been the principall aide wherewith to do all the great actes that that [*sic*] the Emperour Charles did in his tyme and the pryde of the Spanyardes to this day.

And the waye whereby to do this most aptly and not to misse to meate with the saide Fleetes in their comyng home into Spaine is to appoint the Shippes that shall be neadefull for the same to go from hence as secretly as they may to the Iland of Bearmunda which Iland is distaunt from the Canal or straite of Bahama. 50 leagues through which strait the Fleetes that come out of the Indias for Spaine must neades come and so they cannot faile to meet with them in that place but the fleetes passing once the said Iland may and do alter their course as it wilbe hard to meete with them afterwardes and to set upon them in the portes unles men can pointe their tymes so redily as they may come even when they be readie to depart which cannot be done, the treasure will not be abourd, and so no good to be done.

There may be many thinges more saide in this behalfe which I leave because the tyme will best shewe them when this shalbe put in execution. It is also to be remembred that the lest losse that may happen in any parte of the Indias to the king of Spayne wilbe more greavous unto him than any losse that can happen to him els where and this is also most sure that the Queenes Majestie at all tymes that neede shall require shall doe more by this meanes with the charges of twentie thousand poundes then by any other meanes with a hundreth thowsand poundes. And also it is most certayne that the king of Spaine being set a work by theise wayes the Queenes Majestie shall little need to care for any harme that he can do in theise partes.

Endorsed on slip pasted on:—Spain. Discourses how hir Majestie may annoy the kyng of Spayne. *Later hand:*—How to annoie the K: of Spa. Eliz.

24. [1578] [RICHARD HAKLUYT, LAWYER], NOTES ON COLONISATION¹.

Notes framed by a Gentleman heretofore to bee given to one that prepared for a discoverie. and went not: And not unfitt to be committed to print, considering the same may stirre up considerations of these and of such other thinges, not unmeete in such new voyages as may be attempted hereafter.

That the first seate be chosen on ye seaside so as (if it may be) you may have your owne Navie within Bay, river or lake, within your seat safe from the enemye. And so as the enemye shalbe forced to lie in open rode abroad without, to be dispersed with all windes and tempests that shall arise. Thus seated you shall bee least subjecte to annoy of the enemye, so may you by your Navie within, passe out to all partes of the worlde, and so may the shippes of Englande have accesse to you to supply all wantes, so may your commodities be caried away also. This seate is to bee chosen in temperate Climat, in sweete ayre, where you may possesse a[]wayes sweete water, wood, seacoales, or turfe, with fish, flesh, grayne, fruits, herbes and rootes, or so many of those, as may suffice very necessitie for the life of such as shall plant there. And for the possessing of mines of golde, of silver, copper, quicksilver, or of any such precious thing, the wantes of divers of those needfull things may be supplied from some other place by sea, &c.

Stone to make Lyme of.

Slate stone to tyle withall or such clay
as maketh tyle,

Stone to wall withal if Brycke may not
bee made,

Timber for building easely to be con-
veied to the place,

Reede to cover houses or such like, if
tile or slate be not.

are to be looked for as
thinges without which
no Citie may bee made
nor people in civill sorte
be kept together.

¹ R[ichard] H[akluyt], *Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America* (1582), sig. K1-K3v. Reprinted by Taylor, *Hakluyts*, pp. 116-22. These notes are, on internal evidence, usually ascribed to Richard Hakluyt, lawyer. Professor Taylor says (*ibid.*, p. 13) that a copy was given to a member of the third Frobisher expedition. As this sailed from Harwich on 31 May 1578 they must have been written towards the end of 1577 or early in 1578.

The people there to plant and to continue are eyther to live without trafficke, or by trafficke and by trade of marchandize. If they shall live without sea trafficke, at the first they become naked by want of linen and wollen, and very miserable by infinite wantes that will otherwise ensue, and so will they be forced of them selves to depart, or els easely they will bee consumed by the Sp[aniards] by the Fr[ench] or by the naturall inhabithantes of the countrey, and so the interprice becomes reprochfull to our nation, and a lett to many other good purposes that may be taken in hande.

And by trade of marchandize they can not live, excepte the sea or the lande there may yeelde commoditie for commoditie. And therefore you ought to have most speciall regarde of that point, and so to plant, that the naturall commodities of the place and seate, may draw to you accesse of Navigation for the same, or that by your owne Navigation you may carie the same out, and fetcche home the supplye of the wantes of the seate.

Such navigation so to bee employed, shall besides the supply of wantes, bee able to encounter with forreyne force.

And for that in the ample vente of suche thinges as are brought to you out of engl[and] by sea, standeth a matter of great consequence, it behoveth that all humanitie and curtesie and much forbearing of revenge to the inland people be used, so shall you have firme amitie with your neyghbours, so shall you have their inland commodities of maintayne trafficke, & so shall you waxe rich and strong in force. Divers & severall commodities of the inland are not in great plentie to be brought to your handes, without the ayde of some portable or Navigable ryver, or ample lacke, and therefore to have the helpe of such a one is most requisite: And so is it of effecte for the dispersing of your owne commodities in exchange into the inlandes.

Nothing is more to be indevoured with the Inland people then familiaritie. For so may you best discover al the naturall commodities of their countrey, and also all their wantes, all their strengthes, all their weakenesse, and with whome they are in warre, and with whome confederate in peace and amitie, &c. whiche knowen, you may woorke many great effectes of greatest consequence.

And in your planting the consideration of the climate and of the soyle bee matters that are to bee respected. For if it be so that you may let in the salt sea water, not mixed with the fresh into flattes, where the sunne is of the heate that it is at Rochell, in the Bay of portingall, or in Spaine, then may you procure a man of skill, and so you have wonne one noble commoditie for the fishing, and for trade of marchandize by making of Salt.

Or if the soyle and clymate bee such as may yeelde you the Grape as good as that at Burdeus, as that in Portingale, or as that about Sivi [Seville] in Spaine, or that in the Ilands of the Canaries, then there resteth but a woorkeman to put in execution to make wines, and to dresse Resings of the sunne and other, &c.

Or if you finde a soyle of the temperature of the South part of Spaine or Barbarie, in whiche you finde the Olif tree to growe: Then you may bee assured of a noble marchandize for this realme, considering that our great trade of clothing doth require oyle, and weying howe deere of late it is become by the vent they have of that commoditie in the West Indies, and if you fine the wilde olif there it may be grafted.

Or if you can find the berrie of Cochenile with whiche wee colour Stammelles, or any Roote, Berrie, Fruite, wood or earth fitte for dying, you winne a notable thing fitt for our state of clothing. This Cochenile is naturall in the west Indies on that firme¹.

Or if you have hides of beastes fit for sole Lether, &c. It wilbe a marchandize right good, and the savages there yet can not tanne Lether after our kinde, yet excellently after their owne maner.

Or if the soyle shall yeelde Figges, Almondes, Sugar Canes, Quinces, Orenge, Lemons, Potatos, &c. there may arise some trade and trafficke by figges, almonds, sugar, marmelade, Sucket &c.

Or if great woods bee founde, if they be of Cypres, chests may bee made, if they bee of some kinde of trees, pitche and tarre may be made, if they bee of some other then they may yeelde Rosin, Turpentine, &c. and al for trade and trafficke, and Caskes

¹ On the mainland?

for wine and oyle may be made; likewise ships and houses, &c.

And because trafficke is a thing so materiall, I wish that great observation be taken what every soyle yeeldeth naturally, in what commoditie soever, and what it may be made to yeeld by indeavour, and to send us notice home, that thereuppon we may devise what meanes may be thought of to rayse trades.

Nowe admit that we might not be suffered by the savages to enjoy any whole countrey or any more then the scope of a Citie, yet if wee might enjoy trafficke and be assured of the same, wee might bee much enriched, our Navie might be increased, & a place of safetie might there be found, if change of religion or civill warres shoulde happen in this realme, which are thinges of great benefite. But if we may injoy any large Territorie of apt soyle, we might so use the matter, as we should not depende upon Spaine for oyles, sacks, resinges, oranges, lemons, Spanish skinnes, &c. Nor uppon Fraunce for woad, baysalt, and gascoyne wines, nor on Estlande for flaxe, pitch, tarre, mastes, &c. So we shoulde not so exhaust our treasure, and so exceedingly inriche our doubtfull friendes, as we doe, but shoulde purchase the commodities that we want for halfe the treasure that now we do: but should by our owne industries & the benefits of the soile there cheapely purches oyles, wines, salt, fruits, pitch, tarre, flaxe, hempe, mastes, boordes, fishe, gold, silver, copper, tallowe, hides and many commodities: besides if there be no flatts to make salt on, if you have plentie of wood you may make it in sufficient quantitie for common uses at home there.

If you can keepe a safe haven, although you have not the friendship of the neere neyghbours, yet you may have trafficke by sea upon one shore or other, upon that firme in time to come, if not present.

If you finde great plenty of tymber on the shore side or upon any portable river, you were best to cut downe of the same the first wynter, to bee seasoned for shippes, barkes, botes and houses.

And if neere such wood there be any river or brooke upon the which a sawing mill may be placed, it woulde doe great service, and therefore consideration woulde bee had of suche place.

And if such port & chosen place of setling were in possession & after fortified by art, although by ye land side our Englishmen were kept in, and might not injoy any traffick with the next neighbours, nor any vittell: yet might they vittell themselves of fishe to serve verie necessitie, and enter into amitie with the enemies of their next neighbours, & so have vent of their marchandize of England and also have vittell, or by meanes hereupon to be used to force the next neighbours to amitie. And keeping a navie at the setling place, they shoulde finde out along the tracte of the lande to have trafficke, and at divers Ilandes also. And so this first seate might in time become a stapling place of the commodities of many countreys and territories, and in tyme this place myght become of all the provinces round about the only governour. And if the place first chosen should not so wel please our people, as some other more lately founde out: There might bee an easie remove, and that might be rased, or rather kept for others of our nation to avoyde an ill neyghbour, &c.

If the soyles adjoyning to such convenient haven and setling places be found marshie and boggie, then men skilful in draining are to be caried thither. For arte may worke wonderfull effectes therein, and make the soyle rich for many uses.

To plante uppon an Ilande in the mouth of some notable river, or upon the poynt of the lande entring into the river, if no such Iland be, were to great ende. For if such river were navigable or portable farre into the lande, then would arise great hope of planting in fertil soyles, and trafficke on the one or on thother side of the river, or on both, or the linking in amitie with one or other petie king, contending there for dominion.

Such rivers founde, both barges and boates may bee made for the safe passage of such as shall perce ye same. These to bee covered with doubles of course linnen artificially wrought, to defend the arrow or the dart of the savage from the rower.

Since every soyle of the world by arte may be made to yeelde things to feede and to cloth man, bring in your returne a perfect note of the soyle without and within, and we shall devise if neede require to amende the same, & to draw it to more perfection. And if you finde not fruits in your planting place to your liking, we shall in v. drifats furnish you with such kinds of plants to be

caried thither ye winter after your planting, as shall the very next summer folowing, yeeld you some fruite, and the yere next folowing, as much as shal suffice a towne as bigge as Callice, and that shortly after shall be able to yeeld you great store of strong durable good sider to drinke, & these trees shalbe able to increase you within lesse then vii yerres as many trees presently to beare, as may suffice the people of divers parishes, which at the first setling may stand you in great steade, if the soyle have not the commoditie of fruites of goodnesse already. And because you ought greedily to hunt after thinges that yeelde present reliefe, without trouble of cariage thither, therefore I make mencion of these, thus specially, to the ende you may have it specially in mynde.

25. 8 MAY 1578. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II¹.

In this kingdom, in the part of the West which is called Calerna [Cornwall?], six ships of 200 tons upwards are prepared. They are well equipped to take 150 soldiers in each. Master Estuquel² is their captain, a servant of this Queen, and although the rumour is that they are going to a certain island which Estuquel is to discover (different from that which I wrote of to your Majesty), twelve ships are going and he is to bring back from it a great quantity of gold. I am given to understand that his design is to go and rob on the Indies route of your Majesty. This can well be believed as Estuquel has done this journey several times in company with other corsairs and as he is taking his ships well equipped for this purpose, without any of the apparatus or other things needed for a discovery, such as are carried by the others.

¹ Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xci, 229. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1568-79, no. 495.

² The 'Estuquel' or 'Stuquel' of this and the following documents has not been identified. Martin Hume (*CSP Sp.*) gives Stockwell. It may be Stockley or Stukeley. The Thomas Stukeley of the 1563 Florida project was by this time on the continent and a declared rebel, but a John Stukeley accompanied Grenville to Virginia in 1585 (Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, viii (1904), pp. 310, 316), and a Thomas Stukeley was one of Grenville's colonists in Munster 1588-9. Rowse, *Grenville*, p. 270.

26. 16 MAY 1578. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II¹.

Fregilberto [Humphrey Gilbert], son of Conois [Knollys], Treasurer of the Queen's Household and one of her Council, has four ships on this coast bought with his own resources and very well armed, for some gentlemen to sail in. Although the report, as I wrote to your Majesty on the 8th, is given out by master Estuquel that they are going on a voyage of discovery in western parts in the six ships fitted out, it is understood that Fregilberto's design is to land on the island of Santa Genela² and that for his purpose he is making every endeavour to take with him a man skilled in the navigation and language of those parts—a Chaldean [de nacion Caldeo], who is at present here.

27. 3 JUNE 1578. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II³.

On the 16th of last month I wrote to your Majesty about the ships that Onpegilberto [Humphrey Gilbert] has ready here and although they say that he will make a different course from the one that master Stuquel intends to take (who as I wrote to your Majesty is going with six ships), it is thought that once they get out to sea, they will join and make a course for the Indies, unless anything happens in Ireland or Scotland to make them change. And for this purpose they are taking with them one Simon Fernandez, a Portuguese, a thorough-paced scoundrel, who has given and is giving them much information about that coast, which he knows very well. As I am told, he has done no little damage to the king of Portugal by reason of the losses suffered in this kingdom by his subjects on account of this man. When Champagni was here it was arranged with the Earl of Leicester in his own room—the Queen being present—that the way to insure

¹ Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xci, 230. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1568-79, no. 496.

² Not identified.

³ Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xci, 243-4. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1568-79, no. 503.

themselves¹ against your Majesty and put a stop to your good fortune was to make a course to the Indies and rob the fleets, unless they could establish a footing on the coast, for thus they would prevent so much money coming to your Majesty, a matter which is likewise continually urged by Orange, who is of the same way of thinking.

28. 11 JUNE 1578. LETTERS PATENT TO SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT².

Elizabeth by the grace of god &c. To all people to whom theis presentes shall come greeting knowe ye that of my especiall grace certen science and mere motion we have gyven and graunted and by theis presentes for us our heires and successors doe geve and graunte to our trustie and welbeloved servaunte Sir Humfrey Gilberte of Compton in our countie of Devon knighte and to his heires and assignes forever free libertie and licence from tyme to tyme and at all tymes forever hereafter to discover searche finde out and viewe such remote heathen and barbarous landes countries and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people as to him his heires and assignes and to every or any of them shall seme good And the same to have hould occupie and enjoye to him his heires and assignes forever with all comodities jurisdiccions and royalties both by sea and land And the said Sir Humfrey and all such as from tyme to tyme by licence of us our heires and successors shall goe or³ travell thither to inhabite or remayne there to build and fortifie at the discrecion of the said Sir Humfrey and of his heires and assignes the statutes or actes of parliament made against fugytyves or against such as shall departe remayne or contynue out of our Realme of England without licence or anye other acte statute lawe or matter whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstandinge / And we doe likewise by theis presentes for us our heires and successors geve full auctoritie and

¹ The Spanish is 'camino se asegurase', but probably 'camino se asegurarse' is intended.

² Patent Roll, 21 Elizabeth, part 4, m. 8-9. C 66/1178. Printed by Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1589), pp. 677-9; III (1600), 135-7. Collated.

³ 'and'. Hakluyt.

power to the said Sir Humfrey his heires and assignes and every of them that he and they shall and maye at all and every tyme and tymes hereafter have take and leade in the said vyages to travell thetherward or to inhabite there with him and them¹ and them every or any of them such and soe many of our subjectes as shall willingly accompany him and them and every or any of them with sufficient shippinge and furnytüre for their transportacions Soe that none of the same parsons nor any of them be such as hereafter shalbe specially restrayned by us our heires or successors And further that he the said Sir Humfrey his heires and assignes and every or any of them shall have hould occupie and enjoye to him his heires and assignes and every of them forever all the soyle of all such landes countries and territories soe to be discovered or possessed as aforesaid and of all cities castells townes villages and places in the same with the rightes royalties and jurisdiccions aswell maryne as other within the said landes or countries or the seas therunto adjoyning to be had or used with full power to dispose therof and of every parte therof in fee simple or otherwise according to the order of the lawes of England as neare as the same conveniently maye be at his and their will and pleasure to any parson then beinge or that shall remayne within the allegiaunce of us our heires and successors reserving allwaies to² us our heires and successors for all services dueties and demaundes the fiefte parte of all the ewre of golde and sylver that from tyme to tyme and at all tymes after such discoverie subduynge and possessinge shalbe there gotten All which landes countries and territories shall forever be houlden by the said Sir Humfrey and his heires and assignes of us our heires and successors by homage and by the said payment of the said fyveth parte before reserved onely for all services And moreover we doe by theis presentes for us our heires and successors gyve and graunte licence to the said Sir Humfrey Gilberte his heires and assignes and every of them that he and they and every or any of them shall and maye from tyme to tyme and at all tymes forever hereafter for his and their defence encounter expulse repelle and resiste aswell by sea as by land and by all

¹ 'and them', omitted by Hakluyt.

² 'paying unto'. Hakluyt.

other waies whatsoever all and every such person and persones whatsoever as without the speciall licence and likinge of the said Sir Humfrey and of his heires or assignes shall attempte to inhabite within the said countries or any of them or within the space of two hundreth leages nere to the place or places within such countries as aforesaid yf they shall not be before planted or enhabited within the lymittes aforesaid with the subjectes of any christian prince being in amytie with her majestie where the said Sir Humfrey his heires or assignes or any of them or his or their or any of their Associates or companyes shall within six yeres nexte ensuinge make their dwellinges or abidinges or that shall enterprise or attempte at any tyme hereafter unlawfully to annoyeyth by Sea or lande the said Sir Humfrey his heires or assignes or any of them or his or their or any of their companyes gyvinge and grauntinge by theis presentes further power and auctoritie to the said Sir Humfrey his heires and assignes and every of them from tyme to tyme and at all tymes forever hereafter to take and surprise by all manner meanes whatsoever all and every those¹ person and parsons with their shippes vessells and other goodes and furnytur which without the licence of the said Sir Humfrey or his heires or Assignes as aforesaid shalbe found traffakinge into any harbarowe or harbarrowes creeke or creekes within the lymittes aforesaid the subjecte of our Realmes and dominions and all other parsons in amytie with us beinge dryven by force of tempest or shippewracke onely excepted And those parsons and any of them with their shippes vessells goodes and furnytur to deteyne and possesse as of good and lafull price according to the discrecion of him the said Sir Humfrey his heires and assignes and every or any of them And for unytinge in more perfecte leage and amytie of such countries landes and territories soe to be possessed and inhabited as aforesaid with our Realmes of England and Ireland and for the better incoragement of men to this interprise we doe by theis presentes graunte and declare that all such countries soe hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as aforesaid from thencefourthe shalbe of the allegiaunce of us our heires and successors and we doe graunte to the saide Sir Humfrey his heires and

¹ 'those' omitted by Hakluyt.

assignes and to all and every of them and to all and every other parson and parsons beinge of our alleageaunce whose names shalbe noted or entered in some of our courtes of recorde within this our Realme of England and that with the assente of the said Sir Humfrey his heires or Assignes shall nowe in this journey for discovery or in the seconde journey for conquest hereafter travell to such landes countries and territories as aforesaid and to their and every of their heires that they and every or any of them beinge either borne within our said Realmes of England or Ireland or in any other place within our alleageaunce and which hereafter shalbe inhabitinge within any the landes countries and territories withe suche licence as aforesaid shall and maye have and enjoye all the priviledges of free denizens and parsons natyve of England and within our alleageaunce in suche like ample manner and fourme as if they were borne and personally resiaunte within our said Realme of [m. 9] England¹ any lawe custome or usage to the contrary notwithstandinge and forasmuch as upon the findinge out discovering and inhabitinge of such remote landes countries and territories as aforesaid it shall be necessary for the safety of all men that shall adventure themselves in those journeys or voyages to determyne to lyve together in christian peace and civill quietnes eache with other whereby every one maye with more pleasure and proffitt enjoye that whereunto they shall attayne with great payne and parill we for us our heires and successors are likewise pleased and contented and by theis presentes do geve and graunte to the said Sir Humfrey and his heires and assignes forever that he and they and every or any of them shall and maye from tyme to tyme forever hereafter within the said mencioned remote Landes and countries and in the waye by the Seas thether and from thence have full and mere power and auctoritie to correcte punyshe pardon governe and rule by theire and every or any of their good discrecions and pollicies as well in causes capitall or crymynall as civell bothe maryne and other all suche our subjectes and others as shall from tyme to tyme hereafter adventure themselves in the said journeys or voyages habitatye or possessyve or that shall at any tyme hereafter inhabite any such landes coun-

¹ The preceding twenty-one words omitted by Hakluyt.

treys or territories as aforesaid or that shall abide within two hundreth leages of any the said place or places where the said Sir Humfrey or his heires or assignes or any of them or any of his or their Associates or companyes shall inhabite within sixe yeares nexte ensuing the date hereof according to such statutes lawes and ordynaunces as shalbe by him the saide Sir Humfrey his heires and assignes and every or any of them devysed or established for the better government of the said people as aforesaid soe alwaies that the said statutes lawes and ordenances maye be as neare as conveniently maye agreable to the forme of the lawes and pollicies¹ of England / And alsoe soe as they be not against the true christian faith or religion nowe professed in the church of England nor in any wise to with drawe any of the subjectes or people of those landes or places from the allegiaunce of us our heires or successors as theyr imediate soveraygnes under god And further we doe by theis presentes for us our heires and successors geve and graunt full power and auctoritie to our trustie and welbeloved Counsellor Sir William Cycill knighte lord Burghley our Highe Treasurer of England and to the lord Treasurer of England of us our heyres and successors for the tyme being and to the Prevy Counsell of us our heires and successors or any foure of them for the tyme being that he they or any foure of them shall and maye from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter under his or their handes or seales by vertue of theis presentes auctorise and licence the said Sir Humfrey Gilbert his heires and assignes and every or any of them by him and them selves or by their or any of their sufficient attorneys deputies officers ministers factors and servauntes to ymbarke and transporte out of our Realmes of England and Ireland all or any of his or their goodes and all or any the goodes of his and their associates and companyes and every or any of them with such other necessities and comodities of any our Realmes as to the said lord Treasurer or foure of the Prevy Counsell of us our heires or successors for the tyme being as aforesaid shalbe from tyme to tyme by his or their wisdoms or discrecions thoughte mete and convenient for the better relief and supportacion of him the said Sir Humfrey his heires and assignes and

¹ 'policy'. Hakluyt.

every or any of them and of his and their and every or any of their said Associates and companyes Any acte statute lawe or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding Provided allwaies and our will and pleasure is and we doe hereby declare to all christian kinges princes and states that if the saide Sir Humfrey his heires or Assignes or any of them or any other by their licence or appoyntment shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter robbe or spoile by sea or by land or doe any acte of unjust and unlauffull hostilitie to any of the subjectes of us our heires and successors or any of the subjectes of any prince ruler governor or state being then in perfecte leage and amytie with us our heires or successors and that upon such injury or upon juste compleynthe of any such prince ruler governor or state of their subjectes we our heires or successors shall make open proclamation within any the partes of our realme of England commodious / That the said Sir Humfrey his heyres or assignes or any others to whom theis our lettres patentes maye extende shall within the terme to be lymitted by such proclamacion¹ make full restitution and satisfacion of all such injuries done soe as both we and the said princes or others soe compleyning maye holde us and them selves fully contented² and that if the said Sir Humfrey his heires and assignes shall not make and cause to be made satisfacion accordingly within such tyme soe to be lymitted / That then it shalbe lauffull to us our heires and successors to putt the said Sir Humfrey his heires Assignes and Adherentes and all the inhabitauntes of the said places to be discovered as is aforesaid or any of them out of our allegiaunce and proteccion / And that from and after such tyme of puttinge out of proteccion the said Sir Humfrey his heires assignes adherentes and others soe to be put out. And the said places within their habitacion possession and rule shalbe out of our proteccion and allegiaunce and free for all princes and others to pursue with hostilitie as beinge not our subjectes nor by us any waye to be avowed maynteyned or defended nor to be holden as any of ours nor to our proteccion or dominion or allegiaunce any waye belonging. For that expresse mencion &c. ' In witnes wherof &c / Witnes our self at Westminster the xith

¹ 'proclamations'. Hakluyt.² 'contented'. Hakluyt.

day of June the twentieth yere of our reign¹ per ipsam Reginam &c.

29. 13 JUNE 1578. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II².

After I wrote to your Majesty on the 3rd (duplicate sent on the 11th³) there has arrived here one Coques [Cox]⁴, master of a ship which two and a half years ago sailed for the Indies in company of another ship, Bacar [Barker]⁵ being in command of both. He says they landed men on *terra firma* near the river Acha, where he has been a year and a half among the Camarones [Cimaroons], and that these are the men who plundered the son of Don Cristobal de Eraso and, according to what they say, along with this prize they put away 20,000 escudos taken from others. This Coques carried in his ship—which was the smaller—80 men, and only 14 have returned. They can give no news of Bacar or the rest, as they fled from the mainland in what they call a launch [lancha], taking with them a small boat, in which they reached the island of Suie [Scilly?] on the west and Cornualla [Cornwall] coast. It is said that the Queen has ordered him to be arrested for having returned without the Captain and men. I suspect this will not be carried out, because he is trying to return with the ships Onpegilberto [Humphrey Gilbert] is taking out, urged by hopes of great gain, though things have gone badly with them. The Queen has given him [Gilbert] permission to start on his voyage as also to Jorvirger [Frobisher], as I wrote to your Majesty. I have men watching on this shipmaster to inform me if he sails on this voyage, and to know what is Onpegilberto's aim in taking him, and I have plans well advanced for getting hold of Jorvirger's sailing chart.

¹ 'Anno Dom. 1578' added by Hakluyt.

² Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xci, 249–50. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1568–79, no. 510.

³ The letter of 11 June is in *Documentos inéditos*, xci, 248, and *CSP Sp.* no. 508. William Cox is not known to have accompanied Gilbert in 1578, but he was master of the *Golden Hind* in 1583.

⁴ Martin Hume, in *CSP Sp.*, gives 'Cook'.

⁵ Hume gives 'Baker'. *Ibid.*

30. 7 JULY 1578. CASTELNAU DE MAUVISSIÈRE TO HENRY III¹.

Sire, what it has pleased your majesty to write and cause to be written to me by the Lord Marquis de la Roche to the effect that he should undertake nothing prejudicial to the Queen of England and her state, is a thing of which she is to-day well assured; but as she desires and is advised to explore parts of the world where she might expand and grow great by means of navigation, she has given permission to a gentlemen of her kingdom named Sir [Humphrey] Gilbert, a very shrewd man, to go on a voyage of discovery, with seven or eight ships very well armed and equipped with all things, by the southern region where there are vast lands inhabited only by savages and which are of the same parallel of latitude and climate as France and England, and at the most 45 and 50 degrees from the equinox, going towards the other Pole, where empires and monarchies may be built up. These things Gilbert has communicated to me about what he informed me he had heard was a scheme of the said Lord de la Roche, to whom he begged me to write that if they should meet at the same time without seeking to fight each other or to destroy each other in such a distant country where the land is big enough for all, that they should endure each other amicably and that the first comer of the two should take the left hand or the right hand, whichever he pleases to take and the other take whichever is convenient; and he begged me for the same² for any Frenchman who was able or wished to undertake the project, which thing I esteemed I must not hide from your majesty in case it is a matter of concern to him and his servants and subjects, and deserving of thought and consideration whether your majesty or they have some [other] plan for it. It is a thing about which the late Admiral Chastillon often spoke to me at La Rochelle when the late king, your brother, and your majesty sent me there to establish peace, and I brought back an Italian named

¹ PRO, Transcripts, France. Trans. 3/27. Translated. Printed by J. F. Jameson, with no. 31, in *American Historical Review*, xxxi (1925-6), 288-9, from the originals in Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Français 15973, nos. 209-10.

² Gilbert desired a similar undertaking from any French settlers.

Francisque d'Albaigne who knew this voyage, which he was very fond of representing as a very beneficial thing for the welfare and greatness of your kingdom. So also did the said Admiral desire to persuade the late king and many French people about this enterprise, and he had then the knowledge of many accounts as well of the voyage as of the lands and great riches which are there without touching anything belonging to the Spaniards or Portuguese, inasmuch as all that could matter to them in their new conquests is left to the right and to the left by following a straight line from the south, after having passed the equinox, to the said lands which are rich and wealthy in precious metals, and which will be very fertile when cultivated and defended by the authority and power of a great king like your majesty, and with no expense save that of a few ships and useless¹ men and provisions, such as there are in abundance in your kingdom, where each of your subjects eager for honour and profit could acquire enough of both. And what is more, the cosmographers who have written about it and the pilots who have been there declare it is the back² of the *terra firma* leading to the whole world and to the East and West Indies held by the said Spaniards and Portuguese. They also noticed at the first approaches and entries some capes and mouths of rivers which are quite exposed where one could make the first fortresses and remain there in complete safety; and besides, should the voyage prove long, if twelve ships went there six of them could return every year laden with precious merchandise and riches, among others golden ores, as at that time I remember having heard say that one pound and a half yielded two ounces [of gold]; and that could go on while the others remained to conquer and explore the said lands and to establish the law and order of the prince who would be its conqueror. The wild people of that country are of an easy-going and good disposition, naked and completely unarmed and very easy to conquer if they should chance to put up any opposition, and from the little knowledge, sire, that I have so far acquired of the said d'Albaigne and of some other pilots, as also by what I learned in Portugal and heard said

¹ 'hommes inutiles'. Men unemployed or easily spared.

² 'c'est le derriere de la terre ferme pour aller partout le monde.'

by all those who understand navigation, and observed with interest from the map and the globe, I offer to your Majesty the very humble service that I could render him in that respect by going there when it pleases him to bid me go, with all the means, friends and companions at my disposal, and, in the meantime, I have spoken to a French mariner about sending him with the said Sir [Humphrey] Gilbert to bring me back news from there¹. The said Sir [Humphrey] Gilbert is making the said voyage at his own expense and that of a few friends and companions. Whereupon I pray God, Sire, that he may give you a healthy, happy and long life.

31. 13 JULY 1578. CASTELNAU DE MAUVISSIÈRE TO HENRY III².

I shall learn what I can in order to give an account of it to your majesty and also of all other occurrences such as [the visits] of Sir [Humphrey] Gilbert, who comes to see me more often since he has learnt that I was aware of his plan. He sets out with a gallant company and three or four ships more than I had informed your majesty, and, above all, he would not seek quarrels nor wars with the French if he went in that direction³ and if they should meet on such discoveries where there are enough lands for all. I shall send some people with him to bring me back news.

32. 29 JULY 1578. GEORGE WHETSTONE'S DEDICATION TO HIS 'PROMOS AND CASSANDRA'⁴.

The Epistle Dedicatorie . . .

To his worshipfull frende, and Kinseman, William Fleete-woode Esquier, Recorder of London.

Syr, (desirous, to acquite your tryed friendships, with some token of good will:) of late I perused divers of my unperfect

¹ 'Jaques Harvy a frenche gentleman' accompanied Gilbert in the *Anne Aucher*. See p. 211 below.

² PRO, Transcripts, France. Trans. 3/27. Extract, translated.

³ 'de ce costé là.'

⁴ George Whetstone, *The right excellent and famous historye, of Promos and Cassandra* (1578). Extract.

workes, fully minded to bestowe on you, the travell of some of my forepassed time. But (resolved to accompanye, the adventurous Captaine, Syr Humfrey Gylbert, in his honorable voiage,) I found my leysure too littel, to correct the error in my said workes. So that (inforced) I lefte them disparsed, amonge my learned freendes, at theyr leasure, to polish, if I faild to retorne: spoyling (by this meanes) my studdy of his necessarye furnytur. Amonge other unregarded papers, I fownde this Discourse of Promos and Cassandra . . . No more, but that, almightye God be your protector, and preserve me from dainger, in this voiage, the xxix. of July. 1578.

Your Kinsman to use

George Whetstone¹

33. 1578. REPORT ON SUSPECTED PIRATES².

. . . John Callis. Capten of the Oliphant rigged forth of Penarth in warlike manner. James Rannse³ Master therof.

. . . Simon Ferdinando Capten and Master of a barke rigged also out of Pennarth in warlike manner. The said ferdinando was comitted to the gaole by Thomas Lewes and was enlarged by William harbert deceased.

34. 5 AUGUST 1578. MR. REYNOLDS GOING TO JOIN GILBERT⁴.

Mr. Raynolds of Bridewell tok his leave of me as he passed toward Darthmowth to go with Sir Umfrey Gilbert toward Hochelega.

¹ He is entered in Document no. 46, p. 211 below, as a passenger in the *Hope of Greenway*, which turned back after leaving Plymouth.

² Report of the Commissioners for Piracy for the Eastern part of Glamorganshire, presented 11 August 1578, in 'The booke towching Pyrates'. State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/135, p. 401. Extracts.

³ James Ranse had served under Hawkins and joined Drake in the West Indies in 1572. Williamson, *Age of Drake*, pp. 122-3.

⁴ John Dee, 'Diary', Bodleian, Ashmole MS. 487. Printed by Halliwell, p. 4.

35. 14 AUGUST 1578. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO GABRIEL DE ZAYAS¹.

In the ships of Onofre Gilberto [Humphrey Gilbert] I have sent a special man to give a complete account of the voyage if he returns. It has been a good piece of luck finding a skilled man and trustworthy (since he is English). Make this known to His Majesty. I have given him orders, that if on the return, they touch at Spain he is to go straight to Madrid and see you in order to inform you as to what may have happened.

36. 23 SEPTEMBER 1578. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM².

Sir knowinge you to be my principall patron aswell in furtheringe and procuringe me her majestes favor and lycence for performaunce of this my sea voyage and also manye other wayes having fownd you my good and honorable frend. I thoughte it my duytie to signefye unto your honor the state and tyme of my present departure from this porte of Dartmowthe which was on the xxiiiith of this instante September beinge accompanied with xi sayle³ well victualed for a yere and furnished with 500 choyse souldiers and saylers. our staye so longe in these partes proceeded by reason of my London shippin[g] not comminge downe, which throughe contrarye windes arryved not here till the 25 of Auguste—Howbeyt our longe taryinge I truste shalbe noe impeachment to our enterprises, the tyme and season of the yere servinge yet verie fyt for our travell. I have nothinge els whereof to advertise your honor, but to assure you that I am and wilbe ever redye to doe you anye service that shall lye in my power, prayinge your honor not onelye to contynue your favor towards me. But also as occasion shall serve, to make me partaker of your good speeches to her majesty for the better supportacion of my poore credyt with her highnes, And so I com-

¹ Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xci, 271. *CSP Sp.* 1568-79, no. 521.

² State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/125, 70. Holograph.

³ 'of good shippes', crossed out.

myt your honor to god, Grenewaye the xxiiith of September
1578

Your honors moste humble
to commaund

H Gylberte

Addressed:—To the righte honorble Sir Fraunciss Walsingham knyghte her majestes principall Secretory

Endorsed in other hand:—23 Novemb 1578

From Sir H: Gylbert

The tyme and number of shippes men &c, that departed with him from Dartmouth. To keepe him in hir Majesties good favour and Creditt.

37. 23 SEPTEMBER 1578. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX¹.

[. . .] this [my sea voyage for the] performance of w[hich] there is in my syllye fleete [xi sayle] well victayled for a yeaere, and [furnished with] five hundrethe choyse souldiers, si[gnifying unto your honour that] our longe staye in these partes pr[oceeded by reason of] the contrarye windes, which stayed m[y London] shippinge from comminge abowte hither u[n]till the] xxvth of Auguste, whereby alth[ough I] have bin dryven to a farther chardge os[tensiblie] then I loked for, yet dought not but [that] the time and season of the yere will se[rve yet] verie aptely for our travells. Thus mu[ch] have I thoughte good to signefye unto your [lordship] tochinge the state and tyme of my departur[e] from hence, besechinge you to contynue your fa[vour] towards me, in sorte as I have here tofore fown[de in] you assuring your good Lordship that you shall ever finde me ready to doe you anye service that shall lye in my power. And so prayinge your good Lordship to presente my humble duytie to my good Ladye your wief, I cease to

¹BM, Cotton MS. Otho E VIII, f. 67. The letter has been damaged by fire. Several lines at the top of the page are missing and in the upper part of what has remained the sides have also been burnt into. The words in square brackets have been, for the most part, supplied by analogy with no. 36.

trouble you anye farther / Greinewayc this xxiiith of September
1578 /

your Honors moste humble to commaund

H. Gylberte¹

Addressed:—To the righte honorable and my very good Lord
Therle of Sussex. H G.

38. [29 SEPTEMBER 1577-29 SEPTEMBER 1578]. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT AT PLYMOUTH².

Item paid to William Blake for a supper to Sir John & Sir Humphrie Gilbert knyghtes—xvii s. vi d.

39. 9 OCTOBER 1578. EARL OF LINCOLN TO LORD BURGHLEY³.
My very good Lord

I do humbly thank your Lordship for your leter, whereby I perseve yow have had some knolayge of ye deling of Mr Pelam and others who take upon them to dele with pyratres goods inso-moch as they when the fynd ye goods stayd for her Majeste the convey it from thens to such plasis as they may dystribut and convey it to ther owne use and dyseve her Majeste / and for y your Lordship may better know ther delynges as well in Sussex as in ye west countrey I send your Lordship herwith soch letters as I have resevyd from thens to thend your Lordship may take order for ye reformasyon of ther doinges / and your Lordship shall perseve how thes gentyllmen y^t ar gon to seke a voyage into ye Indya do behave themsellffes I have forder advartements wych I wyll send your Lordship, bot presently I can not fynd my lettars I am sorry to hear y^t soch boldnes is takyn to do on the see y^t wych is not to be alowed nor lykyd whercof your Lordship shall hear more very shortly and thus I leve

¹ The letter is not in Gilbert's hand but the signature is holograph.

² Plymouth Receiver's Accounts, 1577-8 (Widley Court Book), Plymouth Municipal Records.

³ Hatfield House, Cecil MS. 214/11. Calendared in HMC, *Cecil MSS.*, XIII, 164.

forder to troble your Lordship at this tym and wishe yow long
lyffe in moch honor From ye Cort the ixth of Octobr, 1578.

Your Lordships assurd to comand

E. Lyncoln

Addressed:—To the right honorable and my verie good Lord
the Lord High treasurer of England.

Endorsed:—9 octob. 1578 The L. Admirall to my L. towching
the wreke in Sussex. Sir Humfrey Gilberts demeanor.

40. 10 OCTOBER 1578. HENRY KILLEGREW TO WILLIAM
DAVISON (from Hendon)¹.

Sir Umphrey Gylbert with his x shippes sett for wardes to-
wardes his jorney I know not weather the xxvth of Septembre
but had Contrary weather.

41. 17 OCTOBER 1578. EDMUND TREMAYNE TO LORD
BURGHLEY².

By letters from my good Lord therle of Bedford I here that
Sir H. Gilbert hath but a badd begynninge of his voyage. For
setting forth out of Dartmouth about thende of the last moneth,
he was incountered with a contrarie winde, which dispersed all
his shippes and beinge sore beatten with weather, were inforced,
not without grete daungier, to come back againe to Dartmouth,
where at verie grete chargies, they remained the xth of this
present, being the date of his Lordships letters. Sir Humfrey
himself being in the admirall was driven to the Kowe [Cowes]
by the Isle of Wiegth, where he remained till the daie aforesaid,
for want of winde to bringe him Westwardes. I am sorrie that so
forwarde a mynde, hath so backwarde succease. And so prainge
pardon of my boldenesse I most humblie take my leave, with
desire of your Lordship's good helth and gretenesse to your
hartes desire. From Ankerwik the xviith of October 1578.

¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, Additional. SP 15/25, 116. Extract.

² Hatfield House, Cecil MS. 161/85. Extract. Calendared in HMC, *Cecil MSS.*, II, 218-9.

Holograph. Addressed:—To the right Honorable my verie good Lord the Lord Thresorer of Englande

Endorsed:—17 octob. 1578. Mr Tremain to my L. with a letter from Sir Rich: Grenefeild.

42. 12 NOVEMBER 1578. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM¹.

Sir as in all my occasions heretofore I have ever founde you my most honorable freinde, so in my gretest extremities I meane such as by false suggestions maye hazard my creditt, I will never dispaier to fynd lesse favour, duringe the longe contrarietie of the wyndes by what perswasions ledd god knoweth Mr Knoles hath forsaken my Companye in my pretended jorney and unto hyme drawen as many as either the longe tyme of staie by contrarie wyndes have tyred or his affeccion allured, which is noe otherwise then from the begynninge I doutd for noe curtesie or patience of my parte could possiblie cause Mr Knoles to thinke me either mete to direct or advise hym and yet to abide the hardest construccions that maye be, I never offred such cause as might either be a discreditt unto him to susteyne, or any occasion to breke of so honest an enterprice, but once before this tyme he in like refused the jorney, wherein by meanes of Sir John Gilbert my brother he was once agayne reconciled and the brech by me omitted and forgotten. But still to be troubled with every smale surmised occasion I counte it a greter disturbance to me then my pretended jorney I hope shalbe. For without eny occasion ministred he often and openly persuaded my company and gentlemen to my disgrace howe much he embased and subjected himself to serve under me Consideringe his estimacion and creditt, accomptinge him self as he often and openlie saied equal in degree to the best knightes and better then the most in Englande, Farther he in my owne heringe not onely used me so disdaynfullie both in spech and countenance as my rashe and folish Condicion hath seldome bynne sene accustomed to endure, but also taken partes and boldened such of my

¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/126, 44. Printed by Slafter, pp. 245-8.

companye as I throughe their brech of pece and bloodshed with other intollerable disorders have admonished or found fault with all which I held my duetye both as a Justice and governor by comission over my companye, Farther in open presence of gentlemen of all sortes to my grete disgrace when I entretid him unto my table he answered me that he had money to paie for his dynner as well as I, and that he would leve my trencher for those beggers that were not able to paie for their meles, which serned a bare thanks for my good will, besides in my absence he thretened to hange a captayne and gentleman of my company called Morgan in lyvinge litle or nothinge inferiour to hym self, And one that was not longe before shrife of the Shiere wherein he dwelt. Farther my Lord of Bedforde commaunded Mr Lyeile a Justice of the pece to require Mr Knoles in his behalf and all the rest of the Justices in the Quenes Majesties name to delyver two of his company which ymbrued their handes in the blood of a gentleman called John Leonard that was of late wilfullie murdered in Plymouth, which Mr Knoles utterlie refused to doe, the maiour of the towne Sir John Gilbert and my self requiringe hym in like manner, Besids this, his men had almost killed a constable, but they would not be delyvered to ponishment, Farther Mr Knoles shippe toke Holbeame a notorious pyrat^t and did lett hym goe which bred me grete slaunder of suspicion of pyracie, Besides he fell in outrageous termes of daring of a Justice of peace which thinges together with his disdainfull usage of me gave me just cause to doute his tractablenes at see that carid so little for Justice counselours & Justices of the peace a shore. Whereuppon I told him privatlie by waye of counsell as my freind without quarell or wordes of offence, that he used me somewhat to disdainfullie consideringe the goodwill I bare hym and the place I held, and that if he used hym self in this sorte and uphold such as offended by his countenance, it would not onely kyndle dislike betwene him and me, but also brede faction and sedicion. uppon this

^x Deposition of Thomas Sutton, 30 April 1579, that 'At Midsomer last . . . Mr Knoulls' brought Robert Holbourne 'into the Grange of Dartmouth' with his ship the *Elephant*, a French prize of 60 tons and a man-of-war laden with plunder from Flemish and other ships. High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, Oyer and Terminer, HCA 1/30.

onely it plesed him to take hold, sayeng that I called him proude & sedicious, and so haynously racked it, that he left my company and consorte, But unto willinge myndes there nedes no grete enforcements, beyng as it semes, by some of his company perswaded to runne a shorter course, which I pray god, it maye turne to his aduancement and creditt, for he hath store of notorious evill men about hym as Loveles & Callice with others; Assuringe you that I am for strenght as well able to performe that which I undertoke as I desired havinge of my owne shipps seaven sayle well manned and victualled. So that my onely sute unto your honor is, that as you have bene allwayes the pillar unto whome I lent, so I hope you will allwayes remayne in my juste occasions such a one as I in goodwill and service desier to deserve if god of his mercye doe but geve me leve and hapely to returne, I then hope you shall fynd that I will at last performe somewhat of that which I in thought and goodwill have with my self longe promised, desiringe onelye in this matter for the satisfaction of the truth, herof and of my behaviour every waye that it maye plesse your honor ether to send my lettres to the Maiour and towne of Plymouth to retourne there knowledge of theis¹ my behaviour either els to write to my Lord of Bedford that by him you may be satisfied from them of the matter. And so to condemme me if I be found faultie, to my reproche wherin I desiere noe favour. And so I most humbly Committ your honor to god. Plymouth this xiith of November 1578.

Your honors most humble to Commaunde

H. Gylberte.

Addressed:—To the Right honorable Sir Fraunces Walsingham knight principall Secretarie to her Majestie theis be delivered—H G.

Endorsed:—12. Novemb. 1578

From Sir H. Gylbert of Mr H: Knollys unkynd & yll dealyng towards him & others the best of the Countie of Devon: wher-uppon their societie in the viage is broken of.

¹ 'matters of', crossed out.

43. 18 NOVEMBER 1578. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM¹.

Sir as in my former lettres (I advertised your honour) by what straunge accident, Mr Knoles hathe left the service, he understooke with me, before her Majestie moved by such trifles or toyes / As (under your honors correction) were meter to breke amitie amongst children, rather than men. So bycause I doe waye; in equall ballance, with lif, your honors good opinion of me, I thoughte it good, to sende your honor this certificat, under the Maiours hand of Plymouthe; and other of her Majesties servauntes and captaynes, who were presente; when I publicly desired, Mr Knoles, to declare all the causes, that moved hym to mislike. All which he did, or could allege are particularly sett downe; in the said Certificat, Committinge my self uppon the sight therof, to be judged, as the thyng it self shall gyve cause; but truely I can gesse noe other, but that his pretence was to breke of, from the begynning; and ranne this course thereby to have cullour to arme to see. And then withall, either to learne my enterprize, & so to undertake the discoverie of hym self, as one moved there unto, thought ambicion, and disdayne, either els to runne some shorter course, which I wishe to prove mete for his callinge. I most humbly beseche your honour to ymparte this certificat to the Quenes Majestie my Lord of Leceister, & Mr Vicechamberlayne; with such other as to your honour shall seme good. But my principall care is, to satisfie you, above all others, bycause your honour was thonly meanes of my lycence. And therefore as my patrone I studie principallie next unto her Majestie, to mayntayne my self in your good opinion, Whome I my self will honor and serve duringe lif noe man more. And I trust god willinge to bringe althinge to good passe, theis Crosses and thwartes notwithstandinge. Moreover my cosen Deny doth accompany Mr Knoles in this his brech & retire from our consorte the cause of my cosin Denys departure was only for that I blamed hym for striken of a sayler with his naked sworde, whoe had not his

¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/126, 46. Printed by Slafter, pp. 248-50, and by Taylor, *Hakluyts*, I, 135-6.

wepon drawen desiringe hym to leve quarellinge, for that it was a thinge verey unmete for this jorney. And if he left it not I judge hym not fitt for the voyage, whereuppon he verey outrageouslye and with verey unsemely termes abused me in not only challenginge me, but also in dispitfull manner defyenge me which I thought to be hardly donne, consideringe I holde the places of a Justice of pece in the country. And thus your honours hath thoccasion also of this his speech, wherin if I have enformed your honour otherwise then trothe, then judge me a villayne and a knave. For better accompte I judge noe man worthe that shalbe founde unjust in word and dede. And this I hold for my best tryall And so I most humbly commit your honour to god with my duetifull comendacion to my good Ladye. Plymouth this xviiiith of November 1578.

Your honours humble most assured to Commaunde

H. Gylberte.

Sir I am sympully worthe the accomptynge of, but as I am, I am and ever wilbe your honours humbull and moste faythfull to commande and longer then I shall shewe my selfe worthe (in respecte of not beynge gylte of villany) of your favour, to be adjudged by the tochestone of every mans honeste I praye you leve and forsake me, as one not worthe of your protection.

Addressed:—To the Right honorable Sir Fraunces Walsingham knight principall secretary to her Majestie theis. H G.¹

Endorsed:—18. Novemb. 1578. From Sir H. Gilbert with a certificatte of the cawses of Mr Henrie Knollys departure from him in this viage: wherwith he desyrethe that hir Majestie & other of my L. may be made acquaynted. The cawse also of his cousen Dennyys departure from him.

44. 5-[18] NOVEMBER 1578. CERTIFICATE OF THE REASONS WHY HENRY KNOLLYS SEPARATED FROM SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT².

A Certificat of the cawses of Mr Knoles forsakinge the Jorney, and consort of Sir Humfry Gilbert knighte, alleged before the

¹ Sealed with Gilbert's squirrel seal.

² Enclosed in no. 43. Printed by Slafter, pp. 250-2.

Maiour of the towne of Plymouth Mr John Hele Justice of pece, and dyvers other gentlemen, the fifte of November 1578 viz

1. Imprimis the causes of discourtesie, that Mr Knoles could allege; why he would breke of the journey, with sir Humfry Gilbert, and leve the voyage; were that sir Humfry Gilberte saied he was factious, sedicious, and proude; To which sir Humfry Gilbert gave answer, as followeth.

2. Item he saieth, he never called hym factious, or, sedicious, but said, that if he gave countenance to men of evill and disordered behaviour, then he should nourrice faction and sedicion, which woordes sir Humfry Gilbert spake privatlie to hym, and not to defame hym, or by way of quarell, but Mr Knoles, with that his publike deniall, would not be satisfied. Except sir H. Gilbert would there openly swere uppon a boke that he never spake it, which sir H. Gilbert refused, saience othes oughte to be reserved for Judges. /

3. Item touchinge the accusinge hym of pride; sir Humfry Gilbert denied not, but that Mr Knoles did esteme hym self to much and hym to litle, alleginge that Mr Knoles had dyvers tymes spoken woordes to his disgrace and disdaine, as dispisinge his knighthoode, saience he toke hym self to be a better man than xx knightes. And that he often tymes had refused that degree as a callinge he esteemed not of.

4. Item moreover Mr Knoles often openly reported that he had submitted & embased hym self, to serve under sir Humfry Gilbert, takinge hym self to be farre better in estimacion, then eny of the company. /

5. Item moreover when Sir Humfry Gilbert bad Mr Knoles to dynner, he answered that he had monye to paie for his dynner, aswell as he, And that he would leve his trencher, for those¹ that were not able to paie for theire meles, which thinge made Sir Humfry Gilbert judge; that Mr Knoles esteemed of hym verely litle, consideringe the place he held, by her Majesties comission. All which wordes Mr Knoles confessed he spake.

6. And yet not withstandinge Sir Humfry Gilbert toke not it, as eny quarell, but semed lothe to leve his Company, but noe

curtesie or patience of his parte coulde perswade or content hym.

Wm Hawkyns W. Rauley: Myles Morgan
Jhon Robertes Edmond Eltoftes

Memorandum one the xiith of November Mr Wigmore who was only presente; when sir Humfry Gilberte should call Mr Knoles factious and sedicious denied the heringe ther-of, but that sir Humfry Gilbert saied to theeffect as afore by hym self is confessed and not otherwise then is in the second Artic[le].

Myles Morgan W. Rauley: Jhon Robartes
Henrie Noelles Edmond Eltoftes

Endorsed.—Certificatt from diveres men of the towne of Plim-mouthe what the cawses of Mr Henrie Knollys departure from Sir H. Gilbert in his viage.

45. 18 NOVEMBER 1578. SHIPPING, EQUIPMENT AND PERSONNEL OF HENRY KNOLLYS' FLEET AT HIS DEPARTURE.¹

The names of the ships officers and gentlemen as accompanied mr Henrye Knollis in his viage begonne the xviith of November 1578.

The Eliphante Admirall beinge in Burden cl Tunes havinge of Cast Brasse peces xii, of Caste Iorne peces 12, fowlers vi. Henrye Knollis esquier Capitayne.

Frances Knollis gent his brother, leftenant.

Olde Morse his master his mate Thomas Grene.

John Callis Pilot.

William More master Goner

John More Boteswane.

Fardynando Feldinge gent.

Henry Smythe gent.

Simond Digby gent.

Everad Digby gent.

Walter Spenlow gent.

The whole number of gentlemen
solgiars and mariners, c.

Well vitaled for a whole yeare.

¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/126, 49. Printed by Slafter, pp. 253-6.

*Quis
prohibet*

Barke Denye vice admirall called the same a Frigat in
leangth by the kele lxxii foote having Castes peces 9. fowlers
ii.

Edward Denye esquier Capitayne

John Granger master his mates Edward Cales and Blac-
borne

Master Goner Steven Houlingby	} The whole number of gentle- men solgiars and mariners are xxx.
George Hopton gent.	
Jeremye Turner gent.	

The Frenche Barke called the Frances of 70 Tunns havinge
of Castes peces 4. of doble dogges 6. portugale Bases of Brasse
2.

Gregory Fenton Capitayne

The whole number is xxxi.

The whole number of gentlemen solgiars and maryners	} clx.
in this Flete	

Captayne Sharpam and Mr Foscue are also nere in a Redynes
with v ships vittaled for a yeare for ccl persons bounde in a lyke
viage.

Endorsed:—A note of the ships and persons gone with Sir
Humfrey Gylbert.

46. 19 NOVEMBER 1578. SHIPPING, EQUIPMENT AND PER-
SONNEL OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S FLEET AT HIS
DEPARTURE¹.

The names of all the Shippes Officers and gentlemen with the
peces of ordynances in them And the number of all the Solgiars
and mariners gonne in the viage with sir Humfrye Gilbert
knight, generall in the same, for a dyscoverye to be made by him,
who Toke the Seas From Plymouthe with vii Sayles the sixth
day of November 1578.

Quid non 1. An Ager. admirall of the Flete in Burden ccl Tunes
havinge Caste peces 24. fowlers 4. one Brasse pece. sir Humfry
Gylbart generall Henrye Pedly master his mates. Richard

¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/126, 49. Printed by Slafter, pp.
256-8.

Smythe. Boteswane. John Inglisher mr Battes deputye of his ship.

Richard Wigmore esquire[r]

Thomas Hamonde gent.

Thomas Skivington gent.

Edward Ventris gent.

Jaques Harvyer a frenche gentleman

Thomas }
Olyver } Wolton gent.

William Heringe gent.

Thomas Renoldes gent.

William Stonewell gent.

Edward Dethicke gent.

John Friar phisition

Surgeons ii.

Musicians vi.

Trumpeter i.

Drume i.

The whole number of gentlemen solgiars and mariniers are cxxv.

2. The Hope of Greneway Vice Admirall of clx Tunnes / *meliora spero*
havinge in hir of Caste peces—xviii fowlers fower.

Carye Rawlye brother to sir Humfrye Gilberte Capitayne

Jacobbe Whidon master his mate John Perdw

William Horselye master Goner

Henrye Noell esquier. an Ancient by lande

Robert Wray gent.

James Fulford gent.

James Hilsdon gent.

George Whetstone gent.

Anthonye Hamerton gent.

Henrye Barker gent.

Andrew Piper gent.

Surgeon i. Trumpeter i.

The whole number of gentlemen solgiars and marinars are 80.

3. The Falcon which was the Quenes ship of c Tunes havinge *Nec mortem*
in hir of Caste peces—15. / fowlers. 4. doble bases 12.

Capitayne Walter Rawlye brother to sir Humfrye Gilberte a *peto nec finem*
capitayne of An Anciant by Lande.

Fardinando the Portugale his master *fugio*

Edward Eltope esquier
 Charles Champernewne gent.
 John Robertes gent.
 John Flere gent.
 Thomas Holborne gent.
 John Antoll gent.
 William Hugford gent.

The whole number of gentlemen soligars and mariners are 70.

*Aut nunc
 aut nun-
 quam.*

4. The Red Lyon of a cx Tunnes havinge caste peces xii Doble bases vi.

Myles Morgayne of Tredgar in the Countye of Mulmot [Monmouth?] esquier Capitayne

John Anthony. his master his mates Risa Sparowe. black Robin

Edward Marvoyle boteswane.

Drew Tonne master Goner

George Harbart gent.

Edmond Mathew gent.

Charles Bucly gent.

Risa Lewes gent.

John Martin gent.

Thomas Nycholas gent.

John Amerideth gent.

Lewes Jones gent.

The whole number of gentlemen soligiars and mariners are liii.

*Metuo
 crucem
 eam.*

5. The Gallion of 40 Tunns havinge of Caste peces vi videlicet fower fawlconetes one mynien, one falcon.

Richard Udall Capitayne

Cowrte Heykenborow master his mate Richard Nycols

Thomas Fowler master Goner

Benjamin Butler gent.

Frances Rogers gent.

George Worselye gent.

Arthur Messinger gent.

The whole number of gentlemen solgiars and mariners are xxviii.

*iora
 trasiit
 periculii.*

6. The Swallow of 40 Tunnes Capitayne John Vernye gent.

The whole number in hir of solgiars and mariners are xxiii

*Concordia
 minima
 criseunt.*

7. The lytell Frigat or Squerrill of viii Tunes The whole number of Solgiars and mariners are viii.

The whole number of gentlemen solgiars and mariner in this Fleete are } ccclxv.

The sayd ships were vitaled at thear departure with Beff for thre monethes.

Item with Fyshe and Byscate for a yeare at iii byscates a day for a man.

With pease and Benes for a yeare

Besydes particuler provisions.

Memorandum that sir Humfri his ships came to Darkemothe August 25.

Dyvers provisions for aparell stollen away by a pynisse Sept.8.

Mr Knollis came to Dartemouth the xth of September

Item he departe to Plymouth the 22 of September

Item the 26 of September the sayd navy departed out of Dartemoth & wear dyspersed by contrary wyndes, some to the yle of Wyte some other wayes.

Item the sayd ships arived at Plymouth. the 15 of October

Item the 29 of october inbarked agayne from thence, & by tempest inforced to take harborow, whear they remayned untill the 19 of November.

47. NOVEMBER 1578. ABSTRACTS FROM THE DEPOSITIONS OF JOHN STORY AND WILLIAM MORTIMER¹.

26 November 1579. John Storye of Portsmouth, mariner, answering interrogatories put by Sir Henry Ratcliff, stated that twelve months ago, when he was master of the *Hand and Dragon* of Portsmouth, he was questioned by William Hawkins and John Heyle at Plymouth. He said his ship belonged to Sir Henry Radcliffe but, with his authority, he had let it to freight to Thomas Rey of London for one year at £10 a month. His ship lay at Stonehowse Poole, not a suspected place, but it was afterwards taken up to Stonehowse quay. He was committed to prison in 'the hall of Plymouthe' by Hawkins and Heyle and was not present when the inventory was made. He had brought the sails ashore before being questioned—'For that examinant dealt simplye as in merchauntes trade is usyd cominge thither with provision for Sir Humfrey Gilbert'.

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, Instance and Prize. HCA 13/24.

Wylliam Mortymer corroborates that Story was not present when the constable, Lymbry, brought the ship in from 'the open rode' to Stonehowse.

48. 21 NOVEMBER 1578. SIR JOHN GILBERT TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM¹.

Allthow that my boldenes be more theane ytt owght to be for presminge too wrytte too yowre honour beyng a name unto yowe unknowen yett I hope apone yowre favor for thatt I doo by thease fewe lynes preseante my sealf as one altogether redy to sarve yow with my poor abylyty as by yowre greatte and favorable coortesys to my pore brother syr humfry gylberte dyverse and sundry tymes shoed I am bownde and syr contynuyng yn my boldenes do moste humbly beseache yowe too accepte me into yowre favor as one of thatt howse thatt ys dedycatyng too yowre sarvys as I knowe my good unkell syr arthur champerowne by yowre honorable cortesys had greatte cawse with my brother and otherse and my trust ys thatt yowre honour wyll accepte me a pore contery mane amongste thatt company whom with all goodwyll duryng lyfe yowe shall fynde redy att yowre commandmeante

my brother has enboldenyng me too presume to wryte unto yower honour who has assuryd me off yowre favor and thatt he has made me knowen unto yowe by speches althowght nott by persone / and leavyng the trobelyng off yowre honour moste humble I take my leave from greenewaye the .21. off november

yowre honorse redy att commandmeante

John Gilberte

Endorsed.—21 Novemb. 1578

From Sir John Gilbert The great favors I have shewed his brother Sir Humphrey, & his uncle Sir Arthure Champerowne emboldnethe him to recomend to me his good will & service.

Addressed.—To the ryght honorable syr fransys walsyngam knight chefe secretary too her majesty².

¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/126, 50. Printed by Slafter, pp. 260-1.

² Squirrel seal.

49. 20 DECEMBER 1578. SIR JOHN GILBERT TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM¹.

Consideringe the great favor your Honor shewes me in writtinge your lettre of Answere, which I Receyved by Mr Brigham / I holde my selfe especially bounde unto your honour / and do desier to Relye my selfe wholly on your good opinion. Maye it please you I understand it is Reported in Courte that my Brother was not victualed to any effectuall purposse for suche a voyage and So scantly Furnished every waie as not in cass to performe the Same / wherunto I will answere and wherin I wold most willingly Satisfie you. I made his proporcion / I was acquainted with the bestowinge of the same in every shipp. I protest / and Sir / I move upon my honestye and Credit that his shippes were victualed with Bredd / Beeffe / Fishe / Beanes / Peasse, baco[n] meale and suche other as was Requisite for a longe voyage for one whole yere by the Judgment of the most best advised honors and masters / in all this Countie Hopinge youre honor will give Credit herin to me, for I have the bookes of every particuler to shewe most humbly besechinge you to be satisfied herin /, and so lykewies upon my poore Credit / to Signifie the sam[e] unto suche my LL[Lords] of the Counsell / as doubtethe hereof upon the Speches of suche as are not bente to Reporte well / And also Sithens he first went out / being at wayght he Revictuled / at plymmothe also with beeffe fishe and Bredd / and now (as I hier) again in Ierlande, to Contynewe his First proporcion / And I dout not Sir / yet (if god will) he shall performe his voyage / he hathe all his awne shippes yet with hime / Savige one only wherin mr Nowell and a Brother of myne was which ha[d] so dangerous a leake as by no meanes abell to performe th[e] voyage / and herin I most humbly praye your honor / not to Conceyve of me / that I wold for affection to my brothe[r] abuse you with untruthes / I Referr hime to god, your good opinion / and my selfe to your honors commaundment I most humbly take my leave / Exon [Exeter] the xxth of decem[ber] 1578

Your honors to be commaund[ed] John Gilberte

¹State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/127, 24.

Addressed:—To the Right honorable Sir Fraunces Walsingham knight / principall Secretary to hir highnes / and one of the LL. of her majestes most honorable prevye Counsell

Endorsed:—20. Decemb. 1578 From Sir John Gilbert His brother Sir Humfrey is victualled for a whole yeare.

50. 1578. THOMAS CHURCHYARD, 'A MATTER TOUCHING THE JOURNEY OF SIR HUMFREY GILBARTE KNIGHT'¹.

The Epistle Dedicatorie

To the righte worshipfull Maister William Jarret, the Queenes Majesties Attourney Generall, Thomas Churchyard Gent. sendeth this signe of good will, and wisheth encrease of worthy fame.

. . . Withall, I have placed at the end of this discourse, a feawe verses, in the honoring of good mindes, and travelling bodyes, meaning thereby Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Maister Henry Knolles, and others, right worthy and honest Gentlemen, presently passed towards a happy voyage as I hope. . . .

A matter touching the Journey of Sir Humfrey Gilbarte Knight.

. . . My Lackey had not walkt in Pawles
not twentie pasis then,
But heard that sundrie friends
of mine, had taken leave
At Courte, and were all Shipte away.
this brute may thee deceyve
Thou foolish Boy (quoth I)
nay Sir by sweete Saint John
(Quothe he) Sir Humfrey Gilbert sure,
and all his troupe is gone.
But whether, no man knowes,
save they that are in Barke,

¹ Thomas Churchyard, *A discourse of the Queenes Majesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk . . . whereunto is adjoyned a commendation of Sir H. Gilberts ventrous journey*, [1578]. Extracts. The 'Discourse' was entered in the Stationers' Register to H. Bynneman on 20 September 1578. Arber, *Transcript of the register of the Company of Stationers*, II, 339.

Who with one mind, and one consent,
do hope to hitte one marke.
A ha Sir boy (quoth I)
I knew this long agoe,
Shut study dore, packe hence a while,
and musing even so,
I marveld howe this Knight,
could leave his Lady heere,
His friends, and prettie tender babes,
that he did hold so deere,
And take him to the Seas,
where dayly dangers are.
Then wayd I how, immortall Fame,
was more than worldly care,
And where great mind remaynes,
the bodyes rest is small,
For Countreys wealth, for private gayne,
or glory seeke we all.
And such as markes this world,
and notes the course of things,
The weake and tickle stay of states,
and great affayres of Kings,
Desires to be abroad,
for causes more than one,
Content to live as God appoyntes,
and let the world alone.
Yea such as deeply looke,
into these worldly toyes,
And freedome of the body still,
and noble mind enjoyes,
Are glad to trudge and toyle,
and drive off time awhile,
And at our ydle pleasures laughs,
or at our follies smyle:
That will not take some paynes,
and trye both land and Seas,
For Knowledge seeke, and heape of happe,
to do our Countrey ease.

O Gilbert noble Knight,
God send thee thy desire,
O manly Knolles, and worthy Wight,
whose heart doth still aspire,
I wish thee great renowme,
and noble Carie too,
And noble North, with Wigmore wise,
I wish you well to do.
O Rawley ripe of sprite,
and rare right many wayes,
And lively Nowell, God you guide,
to purchase endlesse prayse.
Goe comely Cotten too,
and march amidde the rancke,
And honest Dennie with the best,
must needs deserve some thanke.
George Carie forth I call,
and sure John Roberts heere,
A speciall sparke with present witte,
in person shall appeare.
Miles Morgan gaynes good Fame,
and Whetstone steps in place,
And seekes by travell, and by toyle,
to winne him double grace.
John Udall is not hidde
nor Rowles I do forgette,
The rest I vow to publish out,
and so dwell in their dette.
But though that Frances Knolles
commes last unto my mind,
Among the first that shall do well,
he will not be behind.
O faithfull friends farewell,
I named you all aroe,
For World to view, whiles world doth last,
what courage you do shoe.
What charges you are at,
what venter you have made,

And how you seeke to trafficke there,
where never yet was trade. . .

51. 7 FEBRUARY 1579. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II¹.

The ships with which Onfre Gilberto [Humphrey Gilbert] and Conols [Knollys] had sailed, as I wrote to your Majesty on 8 December, have returned under stress of weather to Ireland, where they are revictualling in order to resume their voyage.

52. 26 FEBRUARY 1579. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO GABRIEL DE ZAYAS².

Onfregilberto [Humphrey Gilbert] and Conoils [Knollys] have returned to this kingdom with all their ships, having contented themselves with having captured a French ship carrying merchandise³. One of them is at Court. They have disarmed their ships. The man I sent in them has returned.

53. 25 MARCH 1579. HENRY KNOLLYS IN IRELAND⁴.

Deposition of Thomas Galpyn. He saw Richard Awger of London about Christmas last [1578] at Dungarven. Awger told him 'that he had bought of Mr Knowles and Callys xv fardells of linnen clothe for twentye nobles a fardell beinge x halfe peeces in every fardel and that he had payed fyfthe powndes and upwardes for the same. And one Mr Rytche had parte thereof as the said Awger also related'.

¹ Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xci, 330. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1568-79, no. 549.

² Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xci, 350. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1568-79, no. 557.

³ Mendoza referred to the return in a letter to Philip II written on 1 March 1582: 'In the four years that I have been here there have been the following expeditions, that of Joribirger [Frobisher] . . . that of Ongi Gilberto and Conils, with eight other ships, which returned four months after with booty taken on the high seas [en el Oceano]. . . ' Navarrete, xcii, 302; *CSP Sp.* 1580-6, no. 225.

⁴ High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, Oyer and Terminer, HCA 1/40. Abstracts.

Deposition of Gyles Greye. Awger was acting as factor for a merchant in a ship in which he was a sailor. In Ireland Awger 'boughte of Thomas Clarcke his men . . . seven hundrethe wanting six peices of white latten plate . . . also . . . of John Callys being with mr Knowles in Corcke havyn xv fardelles of canvas which was had furth of a Britayne shippe'¹. £50 was paid, of which Mr Rytche, his partner, put up £10 and also Mr Devernoll, Captain of Cork Castle. The cloth was brought to St. Paul's Fair, Bristol.

54. 26 APRIL 1579. THE PRIVY COUNCIL REVOKES SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S LICENCE TO TRAVEL².

To Sir Humfrey Gilbert for revoking of him from his intended journey at the seas for seking of forreyne cuntries, or if he shall procede in it, that he putt in suerties, &c. according to the minute in the counsell Chest.

55. 28 MAY 1579. THE PRIVY COUNCIL WRITES TO SIR JOHN GILBERT³.

xxviii Maii 1579

A letter to Sir John Gilbert that wheras heretofore their Lordships wrote their letters to his brother, Sir Humfrey, that either he would in respecte of divers misfortunes wherwith he had been crossed forbear to proceade any further in his intended voyage, or els put in good bandes and suerties to her Majesties use for his and his companyes good behaviour on the seas; by letters of his of the vith of this present and Sir Humfreyes of the viiith their Lordships understoode that haveing before the receipt therof repaired to the seas, and could not without great

¹ It is possible that this may have been the French bark called 'the Dolphin of Croswick in Britain' captured by the *Revenge*, Sir John Perrott, captain. Richard Derifall of the *Francis* had been its captain and master. It was appraised on 14 December 1579. High Court of Admiralty, Libels, HCA 24/50, 50. A further appraisalment of 22 December describes it as 'a Bark called the Dolphyn of Cereswick late Richard Doryfalles evicted of pyracye'. Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Miscellanea, E 163/14, 5.

² *Acts of the Privy Council, 1578-80*, p. 108.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 142-3.

losse staie, did not performe the said order accordingly, in the meane time the said Sir John assured their Lordships that his brother and his companie were cleere of suche complaintes as were made of spoiles and injuries to be by them committed, and did undertake to be aunswerable for them; howbeit sith that time complaintes have been brought before their Lordships of the like disorders committed by his brother or his companie, and that sith the date of the said letters he hath a good whiles remained on that coast, and hath not put in bandes accordingly; and amongst the rest it is complained by Gonzala de Levilia, a Spaniarde that the iiiith of this present his brother as it is said being at his house of Grenewaye, which was the verie same daie on which he writeth his brother to be departed to the seas, a certain barke laden with oranges and lemons lyinge at anker was, by some of his brother's companie, taken out of her Majesties streames at Walfled Bay within the Castell, he is required to see the said Spaniard restored to his barke and goodes or otherwise sufficientlie recompenced; and for that their Lordships are advertised that his brother, Sir Humfrey, is not yet departed and his brother, Walter Rawley retorned to Dartmouthe, like as their Lordships have written to the Sheriffe, Viceadmiral and Justices of that countie to commande them both to staie, so he is required frendlie to advise them to surcease from proceeding anie further, and to remaine at home and answer such as have been by their companie damaged.

56. 28 MAY 1579. THE PRIVY COUNCIL WRITES TO THE SHERIFF ETC. OF DEVONSHIRE¹.

xxviii Maii 1579

A letter to the Sheriffe, Viceadmirall and Justices of Peace in the county of Devon, &c., requiringe them to assemble themselves together in some mete place, and there, with the assistance of the Maiour and other officers of priviledged townes, take order that no person or shipping passe to the seas in warlike manner, although the parties would put in bandes and suerties for their good behaviour, commanding them, uppon

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council 1578-80*, p. 143.

paine of her Majesties indignacion, to desist from any such enterprise, and that forth[with] they charge Sir Humfrey Gilbert and his companie, if he be not allreadie departed and maye convenientlie be sent unto, to repaire to lande, and Walter Rawley, his brother, Eltophe and other, who are returned to Dartmouth, to remaine on lande, in her Majesties name charginge everie of them to surcease to proceade in that their enterprised journeye, and to medle no further therin without expresse order from their Lordships; and where a certaine Spanishe vessell laden with lemons and oranges is found to have ben taken [out] of her Highnes' porte at Dartmouth by some of Sir Humfrey Gilbertes men, and the persones afterwarde landed at Torbaye, they are required to make diligent enquirie therof and to doe their best endeavours for the apprehendinge and committinge of th'offendours to be aunswerable to lawe for their misdemeanours; and Sir John Gilbert who had undertaken to aunswer for his brother's doinges, is required to content the complainant so as he may departe satisfied and procure [*sic*] no further inconvenience, as their Lordships also have written in a letter aparte to him self.

57. 31 MAY 1579. THE PRIVY COUNCIL WRITES TO THE SHERIFF ETC. OF DEVONSHIRE¹.

laste of May 1579

A letter to the Sheriff, Viceadmirall, Commissioners of Piracies and Justices of Peace in the county of Devon requiringe them to make diligent enquirie of all piracies by seas and robberies by lande committed by anye suche persones which heretofore pretended to accompanie Sir Humfrey Gilbert, knight, Walter Rawley, Fortescue and others in their voyages, and to either commit them to prison, or, if they shall so see cause, to take good bandes of them to be forthcominge to aunswer to such thinges as they shalbe charged with according to lawe; commanding the rest of the mariners and companie, being of other countyes of the Realme, either to repaire home to the places of their former aboade, geving them their pasportes, or if they will

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council 1578-80*, p. 146.

remain there, to be of such good behaviour as no complainte be made of their misdemeanors; and whereas it is enformed unto their Lordships that those disordred personnes make their aboade commonlye in the roade of Torbay, and having committed any piracies bring the spoile to lande, they are required all in generall, and especiallie the Commissioners for Piracies and the Justices of Peace dwelling thereabout, and principallie Mr. Carye of Cockington, to have diligent care for the safetie of the shippes that repaire thither, and for removing of the said pirates and apprehencion of them when they shall come to lande after any suche facte by them committed, and either to commit them to safe custodie or take bandes of them to be forthcoming to aunswer to lawe.

58. 4 JUNE 1579. THE PRIVY COUNCIL WRITES TO THE VICE-ADMIRALS OF NORFOLK¹.

iiii Junii 1579

A letter to Sir Christofer Heydon and Sir William Buttes, knights, William Heydon, esquire, Viceadmirall of the countie of Norfolk, &c., that where a certaine barke belonginge to Gonzago de La Villa, a Spaniarde, laden with orenge and lemons, and taken (as it is supposed) by some of Sir Humfrey Gilbertes men in the roode at Dartmouthe, which said barke is enformed to be come to Linne, they are required uppon diligent enquirye whether it be the same that was so taken to deliver unto the said Gonzago the said barke with th'appurtenances, and to staie the mariners that shalbe founde, and to detaine them in safe custodie, &c., to be forthcoming to aunswer to lawe, &c.

59. 20 JUNE 1579. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II².

The Queen has received news that Jaime Fenemoris [James Fitzmaurice], the Irishman, was off the coast of Cornualla [Cornwall] with a ship of 800 tons and two smaller ones with which he

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council* 1578-80, p. 151.

² Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xci, 394. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1568-79, no. 580.

had taken an English ship of Bristol and thrown all the crew into the sea. For this reason Onfregilberto [Humphrey Gilbert], who was going about robbing, has been ordered to go out to deal with the Irishman, who, although he has not many ships, appears to have given them a fright.

60. 13 JULY 1579. THE PRIVY COUNCIL WRITES TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD, ETC.¹

xiii Julii 1579

A letter to the Erle of Bedforde and the rest of the Commissioners against the Transportacion of Graine and Victuall within the countie of Devon that whereas Gonzago De La Villa, a Spaignarde, was of late spoiled by some of the companie of Sir Humffrey Gilberte of shippe and goodes, and althoughe by some dilligence used the shippe be recovered and restored unto him, yeat [*sic*] the goodes being oranges and of that kinde, that the same is not [to] be found in nature nor the parties hable to make recompence thereof, the valewe amounting to one hundred poundes, the quenes Majestie therefore, pitieng the poore man's case and losses, is verie well pleased that in recompence thereof he be suffered to transporte into the partes beyond the seas to his best commoditie the number of iii^o quarters of graine, to be brought and levied within the countie of Devon, whence (as their Lordships are informed) good quantities maie be well spared, by reason of the plentie the laste yeare hapned within the said countie; they are therefore in her Majesties behalfe required to permitte the said Gonzago to transporte the quantite aforesaid, to be levied only within that countye in suche sorte and in such places as the same maie cause no inhancement of prices or scarcitie thereof to followe, taking care that no greater quantitie be embeseled then is hereby warranted under collour hereof, giving order to the officers of the port of Plymouthe, where the same is to be imbarqued, that they suffer the said graine to passe, taking suche ordinary custome therefore as in that behalf is due unto her Majestie; and for the passing thereof this letter

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council 1578-80*, p. 186.

shalbe a sufficient warrant bothe unto the Commissioners afore-said and to the officers of the said porte.

61. 5 SEPTEMBER 1579. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO GABRIEL DE ZAYAS¹.

[News has come from Spanish merchants of Drake's exploits.] This has pleased the owners of the ships, amongst whom are certain Councillors, who cannot contain themselves for joy. There is nothing talked of but going to plunder on this route. . . . With regard to the prizes made by English pirates of your Majesty's subjects, I do all that I can to find out about them through the medium of the English, as the owners themselves do not notify me. A prize was taken some days since off Coruña and Onfregilberto [Humphrey Gilbert] made a descent on Galicia, plundering the shrine, as I wrote to you, and they, themselves, admit it.

62. 13 SEPTEMBER 1579. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II².

[Interview with Elizabeth, September 6th.] Some English pirates who landed men on the coast of Galicia, where they raided cattle and pillaged a shrine, have returned here and bragged about the robbery. Although I had no word of it from your Majesty or any of the ministers—only a letter from the French coast—I thought well to mention it to the Queen in order to have them punished. I said that the President of Galicia had written to me and that he had also reported to your Majesty—in this way leaving the door open for your Majesty to take any other steps you thought fit on the matter. She ordered them straightway to be arrested, and assured me they would be punished as they deserved.

¹ Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xci, 420-1. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1568-79, no. 596.

² Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xci, 423-4. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1568-79, no. 598.

63. [1579]. PIRACIES BY HENRY KNOLLYS AND MILES MORGAN¹.

A note of suche goodes appertaininge to Spaniardes which was laden at Newehavon uppon a Shipp named the Margarett whereof was Master Stephen Fischott, whiche ship was taken by a Shipp named the Ermyn alias the Frauncis apptayninge to Mr Harrie Knowles whereof was Captaine, Fenton, and his Lyfetenaunte Walter Spendola and Master, Richard Derifall and Purser, Richard Aldersey Mr Knowles his man.

[Details of 39 fardels and a chest of linen cloth worth £1600. They claim £200 for legal costs.]

Item besides this there was likewise one other Shipp taken named the [blank] whereof was Mr. Malerve² by Myles Morgan which was in consorte with the Shippes of Mr. Knowlles wherein the foresaid merchauntes Spaniardes had threescore and sixe Fardelles and one Cheste of lynnene clothe which was woorth the twee Thowsande and seaven hundred ponde / Wherof Mr Knowles Companie had parte of the same afore the aforesaid Mr. Morgan with the shipp and goodes were cast awaie / which by equitie and Conscience he ought likewise to aunswere for that he did receave parte of the goodes as aforesaid /³

64. [1579]. SPANISH CHARGES AGAINST SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT⁴.

The Demaundes of the Kinge of Spaine his subjectes againste Sir Humfrey Gylborne knight.

First the ship named the Mary, Master Gillam Malerva, laden with lynnene cloth haberdash wares and other merchandizes which ship followenge her viadage to Spaine was taken by shippes of the saide Sir Humfrey and one Master Myles Morgan, and parte of the same goodes weare sould in Cornewalle, as yt is well approved.

¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, Additional. SP 15/27A, 42. Extracts.

² 'Marve', crossed out.

³ The endorsements include a large 'F' on the outside fold.

⁴ State Papers Foreign, Spain. SP 94/1, 29.

Item theie do demaunde restitution of the spoyle comytted by the foresaide shippes in Galisia where they came alande and did sacke the villadge and did many outradges to the inhabitans theire and in the churche parte of which spoyle was sould laik-wise in Cornewall.

Item restitution of certayne Iron that was taken from a Span-yarde.

Item a Barke of Sir Humfryes beinge in her Captayne one Mr Wygmore¹ had parte of lynnyn cloth who boughte of Derifall Master of Mr knoweles shippe named the Frauncys a Cable and an Anchar the which was belonginge to the French shippe that Master knowles his shippe tooke and did paie for the same in lynnyn cloth beinge parcell of our demaunde.

The Ambassadors request is that the subjectes of the kinge his Master may be recompensed for the wronges don [and that the male]factors may be punished accordinge to the Amytie and leage betwein both theire Majesties.

Endorsed:—Information against Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

65. [29 SEPTEMBER 1578–29 SEPTEMBER 1579]. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT AT PLYMOUTH².

Item paid for a gallon of wyne bestowed upon Sir Humphrie Gilberte knyghte—xvi d.

66. [OCTOBER 1579]. ARTICLES TO EXAMINE RICHARD DERIFALL, SIMON MILDRED, ETC. REGARDING PIRACY COMMITTED BY THE *Francis*³.

Articles to examine Thomas [*sic*] Derifall, Simon Myldred and others touching spoil committed upon a French ship named the Margaret, burden about 100 tons . . . etc. . . . laden with wares for the account of Eustas Travache, William Bosquett,

¹ Richard Wigmore, Esq., passenger in the *Anne Aucher*, on her departure 19 November 1578. See no. 46, p. 211 above.

² Plymouth Receiver's Accounts, 1578–9 (Widely Court Book), Plymouth Municipal Records.

³ High Court of Admiralty, Libels. HCA 24/50, 53.

Fernande de Zaratte, John and Allonce Farnandes de Palme and others.

1. 'Inprimis if you do knowe that the sayde shippe named the Margaret whereof was master Stephen Fysher laden with lynnne clothe and other merchandises at newe havon in the monethes of Februarye, Marche, Aprill, Maye, June and Julye or in any of them, the foresayd merchandises apertayninge to the above sayde merchantes.

2. Item y^t the foresayde shippe named the Margaret folowinge her voyage from newe havon towards St. Lucar in the monethes aforesayde or in any of them was taken by an englishe shippe named the Armyn alias the Fraunces apertayninge to Mr. Henry Knolles, whereof was master, Richard Derifall and capiten John Felton and lieftenant Water Spendola, William Thimbleton, William Syler, Edward More, Frances Grinde, William Grinde, George Effart, Richard Stanley, John Webster and others and their adherentes.

3. Item that after the takinge of the sayde frenche shippe about the cape of St. Vincent, they brought her to the Isles of bayona in Spayne or to any other place and there unladed all her ladinge and put it abourde their owne shippe called the Armyn alias the Frances forceablye retayninge abourde their owne shippe x maryners or ther aboutes of the frenche shippe as prisoners all the whyle they were unladinge the same and afterwarde dyd lett go the sayd frenche shippe.

4. Item whither that after the unladinge of the sayd frenche shippe into their owne in the sayd Isles of bayona they dyd not sayle to Torbey in Devonshire and there dyd parte and devyd the said lynnne clothe wares and merchandizes betwene the master, capiten & maryners, and mr Henry Knolles Depute named Richard Aldersey or any other for him, and what quantity the company had, and howe much the owner of the shippe or his Depute had of the sayd goodes to his parte.

5. Item whither after dyvision made of the sayd Goodes at Torbey they dyd sell any of the same in the porte there or in any other place there aboutes & if they dyd howe much thereof dyd they sell and to whome & to what value.

6. Item whither they dyd sell afterwarde any parte of the

sayd goodes to any of the Isle of Garneseye or to any other person ellswhere and if they dyd howe muche, what goodes, to whome and to what valewe.

7. Item whither there was put alande in the Isle of garnesey the foresayd goodes or any parte thereof, and whither it was the companyes or the owners share or bothe and who dyd receve yt and who dyd delyver ye same, and whither it was by night or by daye and to what place it was conveyde and to what value.

8. Item what goodes were lefte in the Armyn alias the Fraunces at garnesey and for whose use or behoofe they were so lefte there and by whose order and what quantitie.

9. Item whither at their beinge at Garnesey with the sayd pryce goodes cam not mr. Henry Knolles thither, and spake with the company or with any of the Maryners of the sayd shippe called the Armyn alias the Frances, and whither he was made privey or had any intelligence of the spoile comitted by the foresayd shippe and who told him thereof.

10. Item whither do ye knowe what goodes or merchandises of the foresayde spoyled goodes cam or was brought in the sayde shippe called the Armyn alias the Frances to Southampton or ells where and whither Mr Henry Knolles cam in her thither or not, or was in her at any tyme after the spoyle committed and if he was in her, howe longe dyd he tary there and what he dyd whiles he was in the sayd shippe.

11. Item whither Richard Aldersey & one Delone alias Lewes cam not in the sayd shippe to Southampton or ells where with mr. Henry Knolles they beinge, as his servantes

12. Item what goodes were unladen in Southampton or thereaboutes beinge of the spoyled goodes and what barkes vessells or botes tooke them in and where they were landed and by whose order and whither they were caryed, who dyd cary them and who receyved them.'

Endorsed:—28 Oct. Appearance of John Baptista de Sambitores and Alfonsus de Basurto, and became bound in £40 to produce Simon Mildred within ten days from whenever ordered.

67. 24 OCTOBER 1579. EXAMINATION OF RICHARD DERIFALL
ON THE PIRACY COMMITTED BY THE *Francis*¹.

24 Oct. 1579. Richard Deryfall² late of Prittlewell in Essex, sailor, says:—

“To the first and second articles he saythe That abowte Aprill last this examinant beinge master of tharticulate shippe callyd the Armyn alias the Frauncys apertayninge to Mr. Knolly whereof was Capitayne John Felton and Lievetenant Walter Spindola, mett with a Frenche Shippe uppon the Quoast of Spayne, whom certen of the company (whereof Frauncys Greene, Thomas Francklyn were some) bourdyd and enteryd and tooke from her certen Fardelles of Lynnen clothe the quantity whereof he remembreth not. Which Lynnen Clothe so taken away was brought abourd the said Armyn, and at Torbay the same was devided and shared amongst the Companye of the same Armyn. The name of which Frenche Ship or of the master this examinant knoweth not.

To the 3 he saythe That neare to the Isles of Bayon they left the said Frenche Shippe where they receavyd the said Lynnen Clothe. But as he saythe they had none of the frenche men on board them.

To the 4 he grauntethe that at Torbay devisyon was made. But this examinant as he saythe had not the valewe of one groate therof for that he was not consentinge therto, neyther had Richard Aldersey any part for the foresaid Owner to this examinant's knowledge. Neyther dothe he knowe what portyon fell to every man for his share.

To the 5 he canne say nothinge.

To the 6 he saythe That at Garnsey they sould that which they [*sic*]. But howe muche yt was or to whom or for what valewe he knowethe not.

To the 7 he saythe That the compenye did there make away their shares as before he hathe said, Landynge yt in the day tyme. But to whom or for what price as before is sayd he knoweth not.

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, Oyer and Terminer. HCA 1/40.

² ‘Suspensus’ = hanged, in the margin.

To the 8 he saythe That the ordenaunce of the ship was landyd into the Castle there, and the ship laid in Dock. But no lynnene clothe nor goodes lefte in her.

To the 9 he saythe That thithur the said Mr. Knolly the owner came whom some of the companie of the shippe made acquaintyd of their dealinges in and abowte this lynnene clothe. But the most part of the company was departid before his thithur cominge.

To the 10 he saythe That the said Mr. Knolly came in the said ship the Armyn from Garnsey to Sowthampton (this examinant beinge master) but no goodes he knowethe to be brought thithur in her. After which Shipps there arrivall, this examinant departid and left Mr. Knolly there. Howe long he tarried or what he did abourd this examinant knowethe not.

To the 11 he saythe that he dothe not remember whether the said Aldersey and Delone alias Lewes came in company with the said Mr. Knolly from Garnsey to Sowthampton or not.

To the 12 he saythe he knowethe not howe the companie disposed of suche goodes as they brought to Sowthampton.'

Being further examined, he says:—

'That of the Downes he mett with a small vessell of neweporte callyd the Unicorne, which was bounde towards Gravelin. Wherein as he judgeth were x hogg of All[um] and 3 hogg of Dates which this examinant's companie did take from the said Unicorne And the same remayned and was whole and unbroken in this examinant's shippe callyd the Gifte of God untill he was mett with all and apprehended by Sir John Perrott.

Also as he judgeth there was taken furthe of the said Unicorne aboute ii barr of Figges And beinge demaundyd what Ginger was taken furthe of the same Sayeth he cannot tell.

Beinge demaundyd where he this examinant was at the tyme of the apprehension of the said Unicorne Saythe that he was sicke lyenge in his Caben.'

68. [JANUARY 1580]. ARTICLES TO EXAMINE THE CREW OF THE *Francis*, REGARDING PIRACY¹.

Interrogatories to be administered to those who were on the Armyn alias the Frauncyes.

1. From whence are you? Where have you been on the seas during these last nine² months?

2. Who was captain, owner, victualler of the ship? Where on the seas have you been, and by whom authorised?

3. Do you know the two French ships: the Margaret of the burden of about 100 ton, master Stephen Phichot of Normandy; the other of like burden, called the Marye, master William Malhearbe of Normandy; both laden with woollen cloth?

4. Were either of the two ships boarded by the Armyn of Brest, afterwards called the Fraunceys, their goods taken to the Isle of Bayon and there loaded on to the Armyn?

5. What was done with the ships, or either of them, their merchandise, munitions and tackle?

6. Was not parcel of the merchandise sold at Torbay in Cornwall or thereabouts?

7. Whether the surplus of the goods was not put in the Castle Cornet or other place in the Isle of Guernsey.

8. Was not part of the cloth uttered for sale in the said Isle? Who were the buyers?

9. What were the marks on the said merchandise?

10. Was part of the merchandise brought from the Isle in the ship called the Armyn? Where was it unladen and to whom assigned?

11 and 12. What were the names of the buyers, and also of the officers, soldiers and mariners on the said ship?

13. Do you not know that part of the said merchandise was put into hogsheds and other barrels to disguise and convey them away?

14. Who kept the account of the division of the merchandise?

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Libels. HCA 24/50, 10. Abstract. No. 147 in the same bundle is a duplicate of the first fifteen articles.

² No. 147 has 'six'.

15. Was division made at Torbay? Did Richard Aldersey or any other receive one half for the owner, Mr. Henry Knowles?

16. Did not Mr. Henry Knowles come to Guernsey?

17. Did you come from Guernsey in the said ship, Mr. Knowles being in her?

18. At the setting forth of the ship called the Armyn alias the Frauncyes at the Isle of Wight or thereabouts was not Mr. Henry Knowles present and also Mr. Frances Knowles his brother, or either of them? Did they not appoint Mr. Fenton captain, Walter Spindola lieutenant, Richard Derifall master, and Richard Aldersey purser or factor for the owners?

19. Were not the most part of the goods put into the castle at Guernsey? Was not Mr. Henry Knowles, at his coming thither, made privy of the same?

69. 15 JANUARY 1580. EXAMINATION OF STEPHEN JACKSON ON THE PIRACY COMMITTED BY THE *Francis*¹.

15 Jan. 1579. Eustacius Travachi, Ferdinandus de Zaratte and others v. Henricus Knollyz Esq. 'Stephen Jackson of Marleborowe in Wiltshire surgeon sworne and examined before Mr. Doctor Lewes Judge of Thadmiraltye uppon certen articles geven against him on the behalfe of Martine de Venero, John de Ratana, Eustace Travache, and other merchantes straungers deposethe and sayethe thereunto as followethe.

To the first he sayethe, That he ys of Marleborowe as before. And that aboute christmas was xii monethe he served on the seas with Mr. Henrye Knollyze in a shipp of his called the Frauncys. In which shipp he served untill aboute a sevenight before Easter followinge and bare thoffice of surgeon in the same.

To the seconde he sayethe, That their Capitayne was one Fenton, and the foresaid Mr. Knollyz was owner of the said shipp. And sayethe that first they departed from Bristowe and sayled to Plymouthe, and from thence to Dartmowthe, and soe back to Plymowthe agayne, from whence they sayled towards

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, Instance and Prize. HCA 13/24.

Ireland where they remayned a certen space, and then sayled back towards the Cowes under the Isle of Wight, where the foresaid Mr. Henrye Knolleze departed and went a lande, and left the foresaid Fenton Capitaigne of the same. Whoe iii or iiij^{or} dayes after hoysed sayle and with the cumpanye thereof sayled to the Sowth Cape uppon the quoast of Spayne, And further sayethe that he was hyred and aucthorised to goe in the same by the foresaid Mr. Knollyz his Capitaigne, And other victualler then him he knewe none.

To the thirde he sayethe, That he knowethe suche a shipp called the Margaretten laden with Lynnen clothe and other commodities what the Masters name was he cannot specifye. And sayethe towchinge thother shipp specified in this article he never knewe ne sawe the same, ne yett the Master thereof soe farr as he remembrith.

To the iiijth he sayethe, That the foresaid Fenton and his cumpanye beinge in the said shipp the Frauncys at the foresaid place called the Cape, did apprehend, take, and bourde the said shipp called the Margaretten and the same they carryed to the Isle of Bayon, where they unladed the said shipp called the Margaretten, and stowed and put the goodes that were in her in their owne shipp called the Frauncys.

To the vth he sayethe, That after thunladinge of the goodes furthe of the Margaretten as before the same with all her tacle and furniture excepte one cable was all restored back to the master and cumpanye thereof, what became of the bills of ladinge and other writinges he cannot depose for that as he sayethe he sawe none.

To the viith he sayethe, That at Torbay there was division of the said goodes made vizt. thone halfe to their owner Mr. Knollyze which one Aldersey his man tooke chardge of, and thother halfe was devided betwixt the Capitaigne, Master, and cumpanye of the same shipp but noe parte thereof was sould at Torbay to his knowledge.

To the viiith he sayethe. That after division made of the goodes as before they sayled to Garnesey where thowners parte beinge a moytye was unladen over against the Castell, but whether it were putt into the same he cannot depose. And sayethe that the

moast parte of the cumpanye landed their shares at the keye in Garnesey.

To the viiith he sayethe, That this examinantes parte beinge ten peeces he sould (as others of his cumpanye did) to diverse of the Towne and countreye but what their names are he cannot declare.

To the ixth he sayethe, That marckes there was uppon the said goodes but what the same were he cannot specifye.

To the xth he cannot depose, For that as he sayethe he forsooke and departed from the said shippe at Garnesey and came for Newporte in Thisle of Wight by passage and from thence to Sowthampton and soe home to Marleborowe where he dwellethe.

To the xith and xiith he cannot depose, Savinge he sayethe the Capitaignes name was Fenton, the Master Richard Derifall, one Tho: Grove of Bristowe the Masters mate, one Walter Spindola was Lieftenaunte being Sir Christofer Hattons man, James Fleminge the Master gonner Raphe Johnson his mate, John Lawe a Sommerset shire man the Boateswayne, Richard Aldersey Mr. Knollyz his man was Corporall, one [blank] Webster an other, Roger Silver alsoe an other corporall, and one Frauncys Greene was one of the cumpanye thereof but what office he had he cannot depose. All which aforesaid with diverse others were at the takinge of the said shippe and goodes and had their shares accordinge to their offices some more, sume lesse.

To the xiiith he cannot depose.

To the xiiiith he sayethe, That Richard Aldersey kepte thaccombe for thowner Mr. Knollyze, and Derifall the Master kepte thaccombe for the cumpanye. Whoe alsoe delivered them their shares.

To the xvth he deposethe and sayethe as before he hathe to the vith article.

To the xvth he sayethe, That at their beinge at Garnesey Mr. Knollyze came thither, and lodged at the Castell, unto whome repayred and went diverse and sundrye tymes tharticulate Fenton, Spendola and Aldersey, but whether Derifall were with him he cannot say, But sayethe all the rest he sawe with him in his cumpanye.

To the xviith he saye nothinge. For that as he sayethe he departed from Garnesey and left the shipp there as in the xth article.

To the xviiiith he deposethe, That tharticulate Mr. Frauncys Knollyze¹ was aboutd the morninge before the departure of the said shipp from the Isle of Wight, but whether Mr. Henrye Knollyze were on bourde he cannot depose. And further sayethe that Fenton, Spendola, Derifall, and Aldersey had & bare the severall offices specified in this article but whether they were thereunto appoynted by the said Mr. Henrye Knollyze he cannot depose.

To the xixth he sayethe, that the moytye of the goodes was landed over against the Castell as before he hathe deposed in the viiith article. And that Mr. Knollyze was prively thereunto as he thinckethe. And otherwyse he cannot depose².

Stephen Jackson².

70. 12 OCTOBER 1586. JOHN HOOKER ON RALEIGH'S PARTICIPATION IN THE EXPEDITION OF 1578-9³.

For after that you had seasoned your primer yeares at Oxford in knowledge and learning . . . you travelled into France, and spent there a good part of your youth in the warres and martiall services. And having some sufficient knowledge and experience therin, then after your return from thense, to the end you might everie waie be able to serve your prince and commonweale, you were desirous to be acquainted in maritimall affaires. Then you, together with your brother sir Humfreie Gilbert, travelled the seas, for the search of such countries, as which if they had beene then discovered, infinite commodities in sundrie respects would have insued, and whereof there was no doubt, if the fleet then accompanieng you had according to appointment followed you, or your selfe had escaped the dangerous sea fight, when manie of your companie were slaine, and your ships therewith also sore

¹ This was altered from 'Henerye Knollyze and his brother'.

² Copy of signature. It is in same ink and must have been written at the same time as the rest.

³ Hooker's dedication of his translation of Giraldus Cambrensis to Sir Walter Raleigh, in Holinshed, *Chronicles*, II (1587), sig. A3-3v.

battered and disabled. And albeit this hard beginning (after which followed the death of the said woorthie knight your brother) was a matter sufficient to have discouraged a man of right good stomach and value from anie like seas attempts; yet you, more respecting the good ends, wherunto you levelled your line for the good of your countrie, did not give over, untill you had recovered a land, and had made a plantation of your owne English nation in Virginia.

71. 1587. THE VOYAGES OF GILBERT AND RALEIGH¹.

This countrie of Norembega aforesaid (and the land on this side of it) sir Humfreie Gilbert, brother to sir Walter Raleigh, a man both valiant and well experienced in martiall affaires, did attempt to discover, with intention to settle an English colonie there, in the yeare 1578: having in his companie his two brethren, Walter and Carew Raleighs, Henrie Knolles, George Carew, William Careie, Edward Dennie, Henrie Nowell, Miles Morgan, Francis Knolles, Henrie North, and divers other gentlemen of good calling, and ten sailes of all sorts of shipping, well and sufficientlie furnished for such an enterprise, weighed anchor in the west countrie, & set to the sea. But God not favoring his attempt, the journeie tooke no good successe: for all his ships inforced by some occasion or mischance, made their present returne againe; that onelie excepted, wherein his brother Walter Raleigh was capteine, who being desirous to doo somewhat woorthie honor, tooke his course for the west Indies, but for want of vittels and other necessities (needfull in so long a viage) when he had sailed as far as the Ilands of Cape de Verde upon the coast of Affrica, was inforced to set saile and returne for England. In this his viage he passed manie dangerous adventures, as well by tempests as fights on the sea; but lastlie he arrived safelie at Plimouth in the west countrie in Maie next following. Sir Humfreie Gilbert notwithstanding this unfortunate successe of his first attempt, enterprised the said viage the second time and set to the sea with three ships and pinesses,

Gentlemen that associated sir Humfreie Gilbert in his viage to Norembega 1578. The viage hath not wished successe.

Maister Walter Raleigh sailed as far as Cape Verde, &c. and arriveth in safetie

¹ Holinshed, *Chronicles*, III (1587), 1369. Written either by John Stow or John Hooker.

*at Plimouth.
Sir Humphrey Gilbert
severed from his
company, dead, and
never heard of.*

in the yeare 1584, in the which journeie he lost his life; but in what sort no man can witnesse. For being by force of foule weather separated from his companie, he was never heard of afterwards.

Index:—Gilbert knight his voiage to Norimbega, it hath not wished successe, he is severed from his companie, dead, and never heard of.

